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### The Higher Law Controversy

The year 1850 stands out as especially fateful in the history of our national legislature, and of all the days devoted to vital debates in that crucial year, March 11 was destined to be the most significant because the speaker was William H. Seward. Though serving his first term in the senate, Seward was not unknown. A lawyer of repute, and twice governor of the Empire State, he had already been before the eyes of the nation. But in political prominence he was overshadowed by Clay, in grasp of statecraft he was surpassed by Calhoun, and in forensic attainments he was inferior to Webster. Already these giants had delivered themselves of mighty opinions on the now famous compromise measures, which, it was hoped, would end for all time the deadly antagonisms between the North and the South. Could Seward in his maiden address add anything to the thorny discussion which had not been stated by these three, and perhaps with finer point?

The question was answered in a speech lasting beyond three hours. One reading it today is surprised at the number of Latin quotations, citations of poetry, and array of historical allusion and examples.<sup>1</sup> Estimates of its value, made in the hours of heated discussion, varied greatly. Brewer of the *Boston Atlas* reported it as "dull, heavy, and prosy," though he did not remain for the last and best portion. Some thought it "great and glorious," others termed it mediocre.<sup>2</sup> Rhodes establishes it as great in view of the last two-thirds. Of supreme significance for us is the fact that it contained two words which were caught up by anti-slavery factions and turned into a slogan. When Seward came to discuss slavery in the territories lately acquired in the Southwest, he stated solemnly:

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<sup>1</sup> For the full speech see George E. Baker, ed., *The Works of William Henry Seward*, Boston, 1853, I, 51-93.

<sup>2</sup> Opinions are given in J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States since the Compromise of 1850*, New York, 1904, I, 166.

We hold no arbitrary power over anything, whether acquired lawfully or seized by usurpation. The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, and to liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part of the heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness.<sup>3</sup>

These remarks caught the deep attention of his listeners. Such utterances in the public halls of the nation at this time were startling, to say the least. Nor were the senators calmed by this quotation from Edmund Burke: "There is but one law for all—namely that law which governs all law—the law of our Creator, the law of humanity, of justice, equality, equity—the law of nature and nations." When Seward dealt with that part of the compromise known as the fugitive slave law, he said:

Your Constitution and laws convert hospitality to the refugee from the most degrading oppression on earth into a crime, but all mankind expects you to esteem hospitality as a virtue. The right of extradition of a fugitive from justice is not admitted by the law of nature and nations, but rests in voluntary compacts; the law of nations, written on the hearts and consciences of freemen, repudiates them. Armed power could not enforce them, because there is no public conscience to sustain them. I know that there are laws of various sorts which regulate the conduct of men. There are constitutions and statutes, codes mercantile and codes civil, but when we are legislating for states . . . all these laws must be brought to the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and must stand or fall by it.

One wonders if Seward would have spoken as he did could he have foreseen the effects of his words, logical though they were. He did not preach disrespect for the Constitution. Surely, he did not wish to agitate opposition to the fugitive slave law. "The context of the speech clearly indicates that he was merely declaring that in the discharge of its duties the senate must take account of moral principle as well as constitutional prescriptions."<sup>4</sup> But all this for the people at large was soon forgotten. For them, two words mattered—higher law.

<sup>3</sup> *Works of Seward*, I, 74-75. The attitudes of the makers of our federal and state constitutions toward slavery as a traffic and as an institution is summarized in Rhodes, I, Chapter 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 617.



The higher law doctrine, the teaching that there is a higher power to whom man must answer for his conduct, was not new. Indeed, the concept was as old as Christianity, if not as old as humanity, and had been preached in New England since the twenties by abolitionists and Calvinistic divines.<sup>5</sup> Never before, however, had the higher law been so widely and so forcibly impressed upon the thinking of the entire nation. The words 'higher law' were seized upon by all the anti-slavery parties, trumpeted in the lecture hall, in the press, in pamphlets, in the pulpit. Higher law became a justification for opposition to slavery and all its works, a rallying-cry, an incentive to action. As Rhodes says, "A speech which can be condensed into an aphorism is bound to shape convictions."<sup>6</sup> The South was not slow to attack the new slogan and the movement for which it stood. The compromise, intended to end all compromise, had merely given rise to another agent of discord. The higher law controversy, nationwide in its scope and powerful as a force for disunion in the fifties, can claim March 11 as its birthday and William H. Seward as its father.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the bitter controversy and its results, a clear idea of what the opponents understood by higher law is necessary. The classic exposition of the subject is found in William Hosmer's little volume published in 1852.<sup>7</sup> For Hosmer, the higher law is the law of God, the divine law. This law is made known to man in various ways, but especially by the natural constitution of men and things, and by direct revelation. The natural constitution of men and things shows that both are subject to a law outside of themselves. To center our attention for the moment on man, we find him "held fast in fate." He must eat, he must sleep, he must have air, he must die. He is subject to a law outside of himself over which

<sup>5</sup> Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861*, New York University Press, 1930, 158, "The second of these theories—the theory of the higher law—was in origin much older than the first, though its leading champion was William H. Seward. The theory doubtless sprang from the ranks of the abolitionists in the later thirties, for as early as June 15, 1841, Representative Rayner of North Carolina attacked the position of John Quincy Adams on the slavery question because he 'has thrown aside law and constitution, and has dared to put the issue of this question upon the high and impregnable ground of the Divine Law.'" Also, cf. Henry S. Commager, *Theodore Parker*, Boston, 1936, 205. Parker preached upon the higher law in 1841.

<sup>6</sup> Rhodes, I, 164. For Seward's interpretation of his 'higher law' doctrine, see his speech delivered July 2, 1850, in *Works*, I, 94-110.

<sup>7</sup> William Hosmer, *The Higher Law in Its Relation to Civil Government, with Particular Reference to Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law*, Auburn, New York, 1852.

he has no control. Thus, man's very physical existence acknowledges a higher law. Similar circumstances circumscribe man's moral existence, and prove his moral nature also to be subject to a law outside of himself. He cannot love and hate the same person at the same time; he cannot change the nature of vice or virtue. What is right is right in spite of him; what is wrong is wrong in spite of him. Clearly, in these matters, man "is controlled by a law above himself, the conditions of which he is unable to change, and the authority of which he is unable to shake off."<sup>8</sup> Thus far, Hosmer is speaking of what theologians and jurists call the *natural* law, the law of man's being, implanted in man as part of his nature by the Creator, and made known to him by his intelligence.

Has God manifested his will only in the natures of men and things? By no means. He has expressed his will to men also by direct revelation, which revelation "only sanctions and upholds all the great principles embodied in the constitution of the world."<sup>9</sup> This revelation is contained in the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. "The Bible is the Higher Law in fact and in form."<sup>10</sup> In nature the law is expressed in the work, in revelation the law is contained in the word. The higher law as manifested in nature is not set aside by the law of revelation; indeed, revelation only makes more clear and detailed the higher law revealed by nature. Since this law proceeds from God, it must partake of his divine attributes. It is *supreme*. Man being subordinate to God can never rise above it. That law governs all men, prince and pauper, king and slave; it governs all human institutions including the state. Surely, God has not delegated to the state authority to set aside His laws! This higher law is holy. Just as God is infinitely holy and cannot countenance the least shadow of evil, so does His law eschew evil in every form. It commands what is right and good; it wholly condemns what is wrong and bad. It teaches man the truth, it dignifies him, it protects him from oppression, and leaves him free to act according to its all-wise precepts. It cannot be said to bind the conscience; rather, it merely agrees with the conscience as good food agrees with the stomach.

From all this, it is evident that no man-made law may set aside the higher law. Civil governments must respect this higher law in their enactments. Never may they legislate contrary to

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

the rights of man as these rights are made known to him by his God-given nature or revealed by scripture. Government's only function is to maintain natural rights. Moreover, the state may never legislate for conscience, for conscience is that faculty in us which makes us moral agents, tells us what is right and wrong, good or evil. If human law could regulate the conscience, then it could tell man what is right and wrong, and would place moral responsibility not in the individual where God placed it, but in the government.<sup>11</sup> If human law could control the conscience, then it could command unmoral actions, such as murder and oppression, and man would be obliged to obey. No, "either conscience must be supreme, or man must cease from all distinctions between right and wrong."<sup>12</sup> Consequently, who shall be the judge when a human law is thought to be in conflict with the higher law? The answer is: The individual conscience. And the individual not only may but is absolutely bound to resist bad laws.<sup>13</sup>

Such, in brief, is Hosmer's explanation of the higher law, and of the relation to it of civil law. From this résumé, the following terms are all synonymous: higher law, divine law, revealed law, word of God, natural law, law written in the heart of man. Any writer of the times using these terms, any writer or speaker adducing biblical texts or arguing from the words and actions of biblical characters, is referring to the higher law and comes within the scope of our survey. Finally, other contemporary writers on the higher law are in agreement with Dr. Hosmer's exposition, although they may not be as orderly, or clear, or detailed.<sup>14</sup> They agree on fundamental doctrine; they differ in its application, as will be pointed out later.

The higher law doctrine as enunciated by Mr. Seward had inevitable repercussions. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, the senate in general, had listened intently to his eloquence. When he had finished, Calhoun growled that such a higher life individual was not fit for the right sort of men, and left the senate never to return.<sup>15</sup> Clay wrote that the speech had eradicated the respect of all men for Seward.<sup>16</sup> Webster expressed his opinion in a

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-44.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>14</sup> For example, Theodore Parker, Stringfellow, Bledsoe, Lord, Hodge.

<sup>15</sup> Enoch Sikes and William Keener, *The History of North America*, Philadelphia, 1905, XIII, 274.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.

speech at Capon Springs during the last part of June, 1850. He ridiculed the idea of a higher law in thundering tones.

And when nothing else will answer, they invoke religion and speak of a higher law. Gentlemen, this North Mountain is high, the Blue Ridge is higher still, the Alleghany higher than either; and yet this higher law ranges further than an eagle's flight above the highest peak of the Alleghany. No common vision can discern it; no conscience, not transcendent and elastic, can feel it; the feeling of common men never listened to its high behests; and, therefore, one should think it not a safe law to be acted on in the highest matters of practical moment. It is the code, however, of the fanatical and the factious abolitionists of the North.<sup>17</sup>

The *Southern Press* echoed the sentiment of this last sentence on July 25:

Preaching up the inalienable rights of man, they (northern fanatics and knaves) predicate upon them a rule of conduct which overrides all divine and human laws, heretofore held sacred, and would convert all society into a carnival where license would be the only law, and all the old landmarks trampled under foot.

Mr. Hunter of Virginia commented:

If obligations higher than the constitution forbid you to fulfill its stipulations, then you are bound in honor to say "The contract into which we have entered is improvident; our consciences forbid us to execute what we have engaged to do; we have no right, therefore, to hold you to your engagements; let us then dissolve the contract and give and obtain a mutual discharge."<sup>18</sup>

The *Washington Republic* in due time devoted a careful article to the higher law issue.

We have endeavored to show into what labyrinths of error a statesman runs when he acknowledges a higher law than the constitution, and his oath to support it. We need not dwell more on the point. We have seen that Mr. Seward has culled the field of fanatical declamation of its choicest flowers; and in admirable English and neatly elaborated periods, avowed an independence of constitutional obligations which, if followed by others, must end in the annihilation of all government, all law, all rights. Every other man in the United States has just as much right to set up a law in his breast "higher than the constitution" as Mr. Seward has. And as constitutional law

<sup>17</sup> Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Boston, 1884, fifth edition, II, 361. Webster, however, had stated in 1837 that he considered slavery "in itself as a great moral, social, and political evil."

<sup>18</sup> Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 266.



is the highest man can make, it follows that every man may break municipal and legislative law with yet greater impunity. Anarchy and bloodshed, the law of the strong arm; the law of the sword, the Lynch law, and kindred enormities, are the sequence of a doctrine like this.<sup>19</sup>

In a speech made at Chicago, October 23, 1850, Douglas raised the crucial question: "If the Constitution is rejected because it contravenes the higher law, where shall we find another? Who is the prophet who shall raise up a new theocracy for us?"<sup>20</sup> Incidentally, this speech was one of the Little Giant's great personal triumphs. The Common Council of Chicago had passed resolutions denouncing the fugitive slave law as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and the higher law of God, and those senators and representatives who voted for it, as traitors, Judas Iscariots, and Benedict Arnolds. One of the resolutions reads: "Whereas, above all, in the responsibilities of human life and the practice and propagation of Christianity the laws of God should be held paramount to all human compacts and constitutions. . . ." By sheer force of logic and personality, Douglas was able not only to convert the audience and the Council to his views but even to move them to rescind the resolutions and adopt a platform of his own proposing. On the following evening, October 24, the Common Council by a vote of twelve to one repealed the nullifying legislation.

Naturally all the hostile reactions to Governor Seward's speech cannot be reproduced, yet we must add this choice morsel from the *Democratic Review* for 1850. It is evident that the writer in arraigning not only the higher law doctrine but its author and all his works.

This singular example of the inextricable caprice of fortune (i. e., Gov. Seward) we take to be one of the most dangerous of the more diminutive race of insects that ever buzzed about in a tainted political atmosphere; for he is held in such utter contempt by all honest men that no notice is taken of him until his sting is felt. He is barely qualified to play second fiddle in a concert of third-rate demagogues. . . . The mud had lately been stirred at the bottom of the pool; and he who went down a mutilated tadpole, has come up a full-blown bull frog. . . . His only public exploit has been a speech, of which we shall say nothing, except that it would disgrace any man except himself. The reader, we hope, will pardon us for thus turning aside to do

<sup>19</sup> Quoted by Hosmer, *The Higher Law*, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Stephen A. Douglas, *The Measures of Adjustment*; speech delivered in the City Hall, Chicago, October 23, 1850, Washington, 1851.



justice to a very small man—so small that his smallness is unspeakably inexpressible—and who by no possibility, can ever become great in any other sense than that of being stupendously contemptible.<sup>21</sup>

The chorus of condemnation of Seward and his higher law was strong, but the chorus of approval was equally so. Said Senator Hale in a speech later in 1850:

All the laws we pass must be in accordance with or against the Divine Will. Yet the senator [Webster] declares he would not re-enact the laws of God. Well sir, I would. When he tells me that the law of God is against slavery, it is a most potent argument why we should incorporate it with any territorial bill.<sup>22</sup>

Of the fugitive slave law Joshua Giddings had this to say on December 9, 1850.

This law was "conceived in sin" and literally "brought forth in iniquity." . . . It has the form, but is entirely destitute of the spirit—of the essence of law. It commands the perpetration of crimes, which no human enactment can justify. In passing it, congress overstepped the limits of civil government, and attempted to usurp powers which belong only to God. In this attempt to involve our people in crimes forbidden by inspiration, by every impulse of humanity, and to command one portion of our people to wage war upon another, congress was guilty of tyranny unexampled. . . . But this law goes further. It not only attempts to strike down God's law, which commands us to feed the hungry, but it attempts to convert every freeman of the North into a savage. . . . Sir, our people will continue to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to feed the sick, and to relieve the oppressed; and no interference of this fugitive law will prevent this compliance with the dictates of our religion, with that law which came from God Himself, and which no enactment of slave-holders or dough-faces can repeal or nullify. I speak for no one but myself and constituents; others will choose whether to obey God or the oppressors of mankind; but as for us, we will obey the higher law of kindness, benevolence, and humanity which was implanted in the breast of every human being, and written upon the hearts and consciences of mankind by the finger of our Creator.<sup>23</sup>

In a meeting held in City Hall, Syracuse, New York, on October 4, 1850, much appeal was made to the higher law. Judge Nye, later senator, registered the effect of such appeals when he said:

<sup>21</sup> Sikes and Keener, *History of North America*, XIII, 271-272.

<sup>22</sup> Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 267.

<sup>23</sup> *Great Debates in American History*, IV, 232 sq.

I am an officer of the law. I am not sure that I am not one of those officers clothed with anomalous and terrible powers by this bill of abominations. If I am, I will tell my constituency that I will trample that law in the dust; and they must find another man, if there be one, who will degrade himself to this dirty work.<sup>24</sup>

The *New York Weekly-Tribune* declared that Seward's speech represented the true feelings of the state of New York, and Greeley reproduced it *in toto*.<sup>25</sup>

Senator Sumner of Massachusetts was as outspoken an exponent of higher law as Seward, though a search through his works reveals no express approval of the March eleventh speech. Certainly the numberless times he insists upon the paramount importance of the higher law in the slavery issue, both in speeches and in correspondence, would in themselves be ample approbation. We would refer especially to the famous anti-slavery speech at Faneuil Hall, November 6, 1850. Speaking of the fugitive slave law, he said: "Thus from beginning to end it sets at naught the best principles of the constitution, and the very laws of God."<sup>26</sup> And again: "Fugitive slaves are the heroes of our age. In sacrificing them to this foul enactment we violate every sentiment of hospitality, every whispering of the heart, every commandment of religion."<sup>27</sup> No clearer enunciation of higher law doctrine can be found than in the senator's speech calling for the repeal of the fugitive slave act delivered in the senate August 26, 1852.

The constitution expressly secures the "free exercise of religion": but this act visits with unrelenting penalties the faithful men and women who render to the fugitive that countenance, succor, and shelter which in their conscience "religion" requires; and thus is practical religion shattered. Plain commandments are broken; and are we not told that "whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men, so he shall be called least in the kingdom of Heaven." . . .<sup>28</sup>

The slave act violates the constitution, and shocks the Public Conscience. With modesty, and yet with firmness, let me add, Sir, it offends against the Divine Law. No such enactment is entitled to support. As the throne of God is above every earthly throne, so are his laws and statutes above all the laws and statutes of men. To question these is to question God himself. But to assume that human laws are

<sup>24</sup> Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 306.

<sup>25</sup> Cf., *New York Weekly-Tribune*, March 16, 1850.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Sumner, *His Complete Works*, Boston, 1900, III, 128.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 314.

beyond question is to claim for their authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with the laws of God is presumptuously and impiously to exalt man even to equality with God. Clearly, human laws are not always in such conformity; nor can they ever be beyond question from each individual. Where the conflict is open, as if Congress should command the perpetration of murder, the office of conscience as final arbiter is undisputed. But in every conflict the same queenly office is hers. By no earthly power can she be dethroned. Each person, after anxious examination, without haste, without passion, solemnly for himself must decide this great controversy. Any other rule attributes infallibility to human laws, places them beyond question, and degrades all men to an unthinking passive obedience. . . . The mandates of an earthly power are to be discussed; those of Heaven must at once be performed; nor should we suffer ourselves to be drawn by any compact into opposition to God. Such is the rule of morals. . . . By the Supreme Law, which commands me to do no injustice, by the comprehensive Christian Law of Brotherhood, *by the constitution, which I have sworn to support*, I am bound to disobey this act.<sup>29</sup>

Let this suffice for what might be termed immediate reaction to Seward's enunciation of the higher law. As echoes died away, the country seems to have settled down, regarding the fugitive slave law as the worst part of a good bargain. But with the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, all the pent-up furies again spent themselves. Again, there were bursts of oratory, restatement of the higher law, and rebuttals of it. Seward and Sumner were again on hand with reaffirmations of their beliefs. Senator Chase from Ohio took his stand unequivocally:

My general view upon this subject of slavery is simply this: Slavery is the subjection of one man to the absolute disposal of another man by force. Master and slave, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and by the law of nature, are alike men, endowed by their Creator with equal rights. Sir, Mr. Pinckney was right, when, in the Maryland House of Delegates, he exclaimed, "By the eternal principles of justice, no man in the State has a right to hold his slave for a single hour." Slavery then exists nowhere by the law of nature. . . . Congress has no more power under the Constitution to make a slave than to make a king. . . .<sup>30</sup>

Very interesting are the remarks of Senator Butler in the Kansas-Nebraska debates. The gentleman from South Carolina declares:

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 361-364.

<sup>30</sup> *The Nebraska Question*, New York, 1854, 56.

Sir, I will not invade the Province of God. I will not undertake to say in what point of view the White and the Black may be regarded at the bar of His tribunal. I should regard it as profanity in me to do so. Inequality pervades the creation of the universe.

Yes, Sir, with a chain of subordinate links and gradation, all existence upon this earth is connected together and from the lowest worm that crawls upon the earth to the purest angel that burns before the altar of God. Inequality seems to characterize the administration of the Providence of God. I will not undertake to invade that sanctuary, but I will say that the Abolitionists cannot make those equal whom God has made unequal in human estimation.

Referring to Seward's doctrine of the higher law, he becomes a bit facetious:

I must, Mr. President, deny the claim of the Senator from New York to be the author of the law which he undertakes to administer or propagate. Sir, the teacher of that law was an ancient author. It was no less than the serpent who crept up into the Garden of Eden and whispered to Eve that there was a Higher Law.<sup>31</sup>

A commentator of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill has this to say:

The French Government long before . . . Seward was born, contended that "the law must be invested with authority greater than the subject whose obedience it challenges; otherwise, law is only another name for injustice, and that morality which has not the authority of God as its basis, is without foundation." Slavery, therefore, being in opposition to God's will, as revealed by Our Saviour, to do unto others as you would be done by, has no moral foundation.<sup>32</sup>

Lincoln in his Peoria speech, October 16, 1854, was leaning directly on the higher law when he announced: "If the Negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that all men are created equal, and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another."<sup>33</sup> From 1854 on the higher law continued to occupy the thoughts of public men. Lincoln returned to it in his Bloomington speech, May 29, 1856: "Slavery is a violation of eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition, but as sure as God reigns and school children read, that black foul lie can never be consecrated in God's hallowed heart."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Marion M. Miller, ed., *Great Debates in American History*, New York, 1913, IV, 306, 308.

<sup>32</sup> *Comments on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill*, Albany, 1854, 9.

<sup>33</sup> Ida Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, New York, 1900, I, 248.

<sup>34</sup> For the speech as edited by H. C. Whitney, cf. *McClures*, September, 1896.



The fiery invective of Jefferson Davis in a speech in New York City on October 19, 1858, is ample proof that the controversy was still paramount in that year.

You have among you politicians of a philosophic turn, who preach a high morality; a system of which they are the discoverers. . . . They say, it is true the constitution dictates this, the Bible inculcates that; but there is a higher law than those, and they call upon you to obey that higher law of which they are the inspired givers. Men who are *traitors* to the compact of their fathers—*men who have perjured the oaths they have themselves taken* . . . these are the moral-law givers who proclaim a higher law than the Bible, the Constitution, and the laws of the land. . . . *These higher law preachers should be tarred and feathered, and whipped by those they have thus instigated.* . . . The man who . . . preaches treason to the constitution and the dictates of all human society, is a fit object for a Lynch law that would be higher than any he could urge.<sup>35</sup>

On this high note we leave the controversy among the politicians and move to the discussions of the moralists. No religious practice is without a dogma to direct and justify it, and the justification must somehow prove that God wants the particular practice, that it rests upon His divine will and conforms to that will. It is decidedly pertinent to the controversy, therefore, to look behind the curtain-barrage of words, and, so to speak, consider the men who were directing the guns. These men were the moral theologians of the day, the men on whose teachings the politicians rested their case.

All divines, both North and South, agreed upon the existence and nature of a higher law. A minister of the Christian faith who would deny the existence of a divine law governing man would be a contradiction in terms. The application of the higher law to slavery and the fugitive slave act made up the precise issue between the Northern and Southern divines. For the Northern moralists, slavery was an evil in itself, ever and everywhere. No circumstances of time, place, or condition could ever convert it into something good. For the moral philosophers of Southern complexion, slavery was good in itself, regardless of circumstances, and good for Southern society. How could anyone who did not blind himself to the facts in the case fail to see that slavery was according to the divine law! The controversy split the churches wide apart. The *New York Weekly-Tribune* for

<sup>35</sup> Dunbar Rowland, *Davis, Constitutionalist*, III, 337-338; quoted in Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority*, 159-160.



March 9, 1850, quotes Senator McWillie to this effect: "We already have practical disunion as far as depends on the churches. There is a Methodist Church South and a Methodist Church North; a Missionary Baptist Church North and South; and with the greatest difficulty the union of the Presbyterians was maintained." Theodore Parker asserted that slavery had corrupted the churches.

There are twenty-eight thousand Protestant clergymen in the United States. . . . Is there a minister in the South who preaches against slavery. . . . The Orthodox Sunday School Union last year spent \$248,201; not one cent against slavery, our great National Sin. Once they published a book . . . which related the story, I think, of the selling of Joseph; at any rate, it showed that Egyptian slavery was wrong. A little girl in a Sunday-school in one of the Southern states said one day to her teacher: "If it was wrong to make Joseph a slave, why is it not wrong to make Dinah, and Sambo, and Chloe slaves?" The Sunday-school teacher took the alarm, and complained to the Sunday-school Union: "You are poisoning the South with your religion, letting the children think that slavery is wicked. . . ." What do you think the Sunday-school Union did? It suppressed the book.<sup>36</sup>

Let us begin with the moralists of the North. Very few of them wrote and preached expressly against slavery before the late fifties, by which time they had been marshalled into a common front by the tongue-lashings of practically one man, Theodore Parker. The openly anti-slavery ministers of the North held tenaciously to one proposition: Slavery is contrary to the higher law, ever and everywhere. How did they establish their case? By reasoning from religion, and from higher law as made clear by the nature of man, that is, from the natural law. Under the heading "Natural Injustice of Slavery," William Hosmer points out that slavery removes the right to life. The slave is unarmed; if he resists, his master may kill him at once, while the law affords him no protection. The slave has no personal liberty—and what is so God-given as freedom! Slavery destroys all self-ownership. "Every man has a natural right to himself—his own body and mind, with their various faculties and powers."<sup>37</sup> Yet, the slave's body and mind with all their capabilities are the property of another. Slavery destroys the conscience of the black man, for he has no power of choice, except to do what his master commands, be it good or evil. Slavery destroys the marriage re-

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<sup>36</sup> *Old South Leaflets*, IV, "The Dangers of Slavery," 11-12.

<sup>37</sup> Hosmer, *The Higher Law*, 89.

lation. Indeed, the colored slave has no power to enter into a legal contract. He may live *as if* married, but he cannot protect the virtue of his wife or prevent separation from her. Slavery destroys the parental relation, and renders impossible the pursuit of happiness.

From the viewpoint of religion, slavery is opposed to the Christian law of love. Love never allows a man to be dispossessed of his liberty except as a punishment. Christianity elevates a man, but slavery crushes the whole man and keeps him crushed forever. Slavery is opposed to the law of moral purity, one of the essential principles of the gospel. Our Savior puts all men on the same level of equality, for in the church there is neither high nor low, great or small. But slavery destroys this equality and gives to one man all power over another. Slavery is contrary to the law of truth. Slavery and the gospel cannot exist together.

What does Hosmer think of the Constitution and the fugitive slave law? His stand is resolute and unflinching in the conclusion to which his pitiless logic has driven him.

A constitution, which reduces any portion of society to slavery, is only an instrument of plunder: it is the work of men for robbing. . . . Men have no right to make a constitution which sanctions slavery, and it is the imperative duty of all good men to break it, when made. . . . The fact that a law is constitutional amounts to nothing, unless it be also pure; it must harmonize with the laws of God, or be set at nought by all upright men. . . . It is not optional with men whether they keep such laws or not; to keep them is death, and not to keep them is the way of life.<sup>38</sup>

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: Before God and all good men, the slave laws are a nullity. Slavery is villainy—the sum of all villainies—and CANNOT BE LEGALIZED.<sup>39</sup>

After publishing his *Higher Law*, Hosmer became engaged in newspaper controversy over the relation of God, the church, and the Bible, to slavery. In the following year, 1853, he brought forth another book, *Slavery and the Church*, to clarify his position. His thesis is clear. Slavery is a sin; it is a great sin, a sin under all circumstances. It is not sanctioned by the Old Testament, nor by the New. Slaves, bound body and soul and conscience to the will of an earthly master, cannot be Christians, since they are unable to serve two masters. The slave master is

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

therefore opposed to the heavenly Master and cannot himself be a Christian. Slavery cannot exist in the church, whose duty it is to extirpate it, first from the church, then from the world. The church is in a position where it must abolish slavery or adopt it, for there is no middle course.

Theodore Parker added a powerful argument from consequences. If the effects are evil, the cause cannot be good. The evil effects of slavery are tremendous. It has debauched the press, the colleges, the schools, the churches, the judiciary. Therefore, slavery is a positive evil.<sup>40</sup> Thus profoundly convinced by the solidity of his argumentation, Parker became the backbone of the anti-slavery preaching so far as the moral issue was concerned. By his constant preachment of the higher law he made the North deadly in earnest against slavery. All about him he beheld the brethren of the pulpit wavering or even approving the *status quo*, but he—never! Well might he have winced on reading these words of Reverend Krebbs of New York:

For years the incitement to discontent has gone forth in public manifestoes from societies in the North to the slaves in the South; and by these the slaves have been urged to flee, and if need were, not to hesitate at robbery and murder to facilitate their escape, or to prevent their capture. . . . Was there ever such a system as this in operation in Israel! Did the apostles of Christ ever encourage it by their counsels to the slaves in their day? How do these things look when they are laid alongside the actual advice and injunctions which they gave? And yet, with the Bible in our hands, with its express, specific legislation upon this subject before our eyes, we are told that there is a Higher Law that is to enforce upon our consciences the virtues of truth-breaking, men-stealing and perjury, and assassination and disobedience to God, in violating the law of the land. And we are charged with inhumanity, and irreligion, and base servility, because we will not believe it, nor teach men so;—because we will not give our consent to doctrines that God has not taught.<sup>41</sup>

And surely, the Thanksgiving Day address of the Presbyterian Dr. Lord in New York, 1851, could have afforded Parker little more comfort than the preaching of Dr. Krebbs. Picture the flaming abolitionist coming upon passages like this:

The existence of domestic slavery was expressly allowed, sanctioned, and regulated by the Supreme Law-giver, in that divine econ-

<sup>40</sup> *Old South Leaflets*, IV, No. 80, "The Dangers from Slavery."

<sup>41</sup> John M. Krebbs, D. D., *A Discourse on the Nature and Extent of Our Religious Subjection to the Government under Which We Live*, New York, 1851, 39.

omy which He gave to the Hebrew state. . . . To allege that there is a higher law, which makes slavery, per se, sinful, and that all legislation which protects the rights of masters, and enjoins the redelivery of the slave is necessarily void and without authority, and may be conscientiously resisted by arms and violence, is an infidel position which is contradicted by both Testaments . . . it cannot be found in the gospel of Jesus Christ, or in the revelation of God's will to men. . . . If the institution of slavery is necessarily sinful now, it must always have been so; as universal principles admit of no change, and their argument is, therefore, an impeachment of God, and a denial of the supreme authority of the Gospel as a system of ethics.<sup>42</sup>

Northern divines, then, might favor slavery, or waver in their opposition to it, but not so Parker. His constant insistence on the moral evil of slavery and the fugitive slave laws in sermons, lectures, pamphlets, correspondence, and conversation gradually won most of the Protestant clergy of the North to his views. He aroused the North, called for the nullification of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and told jurors to have done with for conscience was their guide; abolition became a religious duty for him.<sup>43</sup>

In a Bible-reading community such a passage as the following, with its evident reference to the sentence which will be pronounced on each man at the Last Judgment (Matthew 25:34-44) must have had a powerful influence:

America, where is thy brother? Lo, he is there in the rice swamps of the South, in her fields teeming with cotton and luxuriant cane. He was weak, and I seized him; naked, and I bound him; ignorant, poor, and savage, and I overmastered him; I laid on his feeble shoulders my grievous yoke; I have chained him with my fetters, beaten him with my whip; other tyrants have dominion over him, but my finger was thicker than their loins; I have branded the mark of my power with red-hot irons upon his human flesh; I am fed with his toil—fat, voluptuous on his sweat, and tears, and blood; I stole the father, stole also the sons, and set them to toil; his wife and daughters are a pleasant spoil to me.<sup>44</sup>

Parker assuredly was no small force in crystallizing by higher law doctrine the anti-slavery sentiments of the North and in influencing the Protestant clergy to militant action against the enforcement of the fugitive slave bill. By 1854 his work

<sup>42</sup> John C. Lord, D. D., *The Higher Law in Its Application to the Fugitive Slave Law*; a Sermon on the Duties Men owe to God and to Governments, New York, Union Safety Committee, 1851, 10-11.

<sup>43</sup> Commager, *op. cit.*, 205.

<sup>44</sup> Reported in the *New York Tribune*, March 4, 1850.



was quite accomplished. Says Rhodes: "On the Compromise measures, clergymen had been divided; indeed, many of high station had counselled submission to the Fugitive Slave Law. Now (1854), however, they were practically united, and they considered it their duty to preach sermons against what they considered violation of a plighted faith."<sup>45</sup> We are not surprised when Douglas claims that on one day in New England from fifteen hundred to two thousand sermons were preached against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.<sup>46</sup>

Apparently, the preachers of the South experienced no period of painful wavering, although the available literature dates from the late fifties and 1860. Here again, we find agreement on the general proposition that there is a higher law to which man and governments must conform in their actions and legislation. The application of the law, however, was directly opposite to that of the anti-slavery divines. While the Northern moralists rested their case mostly on reasoning from the natural law and on the Golden Rule, their Southern brethren went directly to the Bible. The move was clever. If God in the Old and New Testaments not only did not forbid slavery, but expressly sanctioned it, then, to say the least, slavery was not an evil in itself, nor was it wrong "ever and always." All parties agreed that the all-holy God could not approve of what is an evil in itself.

Dr. Thornton Stringfellow in a pamphlet entitled "Slavery in the Light of Divine Revelation" proved four propositions: That the Almighty sanctioned slavery in the patriarchal age; that slavery was incorporated into the only natural constitution which emanated from God; That its legality was recognized, and its relative duties regulated by Jesus Christ in his kingdom; that Slavery is full of mercy.<sup>47</sup>

To prove that God sanctioned slavery in the Old Testament, he marshals no less than twenty-four passages. To quote but one (Genesis, IX:25, 26, 27), Noah says: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. . . . Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." Stringfellow argues:

Here language is used showing the favor which God would exercise to the posterity of Shem and Japheth, while they were holding

<sup>45</sup> Rhodes, I, 479.

<sup>46</sup> *Congressional Globe*, XXIX, 656, appendix.

<sup>47</sup> Contained in *Cotton Is King*, Augusta, Georgia, 1860, 462. Georgia at its foundation as a colony had a prohibition against bringing slaves into its confines. Oglethorpe argued that slavery was against the Bible (Rhodes, I, 5).



the posterity of Ham in a state of bondage. May it not be said in truth, that God decreed the institution before it existed; and has He not connected the existence with prophetic tokens of special favor, to those who should be slave owners or masters? He is the same God now that He was when He gave these views of his moral character to the world; and unless the posterity of Shem . . . and Japheth are all dead . . . it is quite possible that this favor may now be found with one class of men who are now holding another class of men who are now holding another class in bondage. Be that as it may, God decreed slavery and shows in that decree tokens of good will to the Master.<sup>48</sup>

Stringfellow scores a point when he writes:

The very God that said to them (the patriarchs), they should love Him supremely, said to them also, "of the heathen that are round about you, thou shalt buy bond men and bond women, and they shall be your possession, and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit as a possession; they shall be your bond men forever."<sup>49</sup>

This institution of slavery set up by the Almighty, Jesus Christ, did not abolish when He enacted His new dispensation. Certainly, He did not abolish it by a *direct command*. If He had left it to his disciples to discover the intrinsic malice of slavery, He would have supposed in them an intellect so keen that they could have found in the law of Moses a discrepancy which He (Christ) Himself never saw! No, Jesus Christ did not directly forbid slavery; neither did He introduce any *new moral principle* which would destroy slavery, for always and everywhere His apostles recognize the institution as legally existing and give directions accordingly. Thus St. Paul, "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their masters as worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine may not be blasphemed." And St. Peter, "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear." Quite logically and prophetically does Dr. Stringfellow remark: "An officious meddling with the institution, from feelings and sentiments unknown to the Bible, may lead to an extermination of the slave race from among us. . . ."<sup>50</sup>

Albert Taylor Bledsoe's pamphlet "Liberty and Slavery, or Slavery in the Light of Political and Moral Philosophy," revealed an opponent worthy of the best steel the North had to offer. With much erudition and acute reasoning he discoursed on

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 463.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 479.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 491.

the nature of liberty and unalienable rights. As for all men being equal, he freely admitted the inferiority of the Negro. He railed against the Northern abolitionists.<sup>51</sup> He spurned the Northern interpretation of the Golden Rule:

The precept, which requires us to do as we would be done by, was intended to enlighten the conscience. It is used by the abolitionists to hoodwink and deceive the conscience. This precept directs us to conceive ourselves placed in the condition of others, in order that we may the more clearly perceive what is due them. The abolitionist employs it to convince us that, because we desire liberty for ourselves, we should extend it to all men, even to those who are not qualified for its enjoyment, and to whom it would prove the greatest possible injury.<sup>52</sup>

Bledsoe, like Stringfellow, proved from many a biblical text that both Old and New Testaments sanctioned slavery. He emptied the vials of his wrath on Sumner, who, in a speech at the Metropolitan Theatre in New York in 1855, chose to pass over texts of the Old Testament because they were all merged in the command of the New Testament, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. After declaiming on the falsity of this, he dismissed Sumner with the words: "Thus, the issue which Mr. Sumner has made up is not with the slave-holders of the South; it is with the word of God itself. The contradiction is plain, palpable, and without even the decency of a pretended disguise."<sup>53</sup>

Still, Sumner and those in the opposing camp were just as firm in their convictions as Bledsoe and his group. The higher law principle divided opinion among churchmen three ways, with extremists on either side trying to win the middle-of-the-way clergy. None of the three following the principle of private interpretation could have recourse to an authoritative arbiter, either apart from or within their respective churches.<sup>54</sup> Generally, the words of Scripture relating to bondmen and freemen suffered in the sermons from lack of dogmatic and historical background and acquaintance with tradition on the part of the

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>52</sup> *Cotton Is King*, 303.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 354.

<sup>54</sup> No mention has been made in this paper of the position of the Catholic church with regard to the moral aspects of slavery. Apparently, Catholic prelates considered the question one of politics and remained silent; cf. R. J. Murphy, "The Catholic Church in the United States during the Civil War Period, 1852-1866," in *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XXXIX (December, 1928), 271-346. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1912, XIV, 36-41 has an historical article on "Slavery," indicating the relation of the Church to slavery from the dawn of the Christian era, and this is followed by one on the "Ethical Aspects of Slavery."

preachers. Logically, God could not and did not approve and disapprove of the institution, and hence could not be on both sides, yet convictions of right were so strong that to each of the extremist groups there appeared to be no other side. In the absence of authoritative decision the inevitable trend was toward following one's own conscience, and thus in effect the doctrine of the higher law became qualified by the subjective element.

Certainly, enslavement of a man, body and soul, is an evil. Hebrew slavery, Egyptian slavery, Roman slavery, Christian slavery, American slavery, Mohammedan slavery, were each different from the other as to circumstances. Bondage was a recognized status in both Testaments, but bondage of the body, for in the eyes of God all men were equal. Roman and Mohammedan servitude recognized no such distinction. The Hebrews and Christians considered work honorable, and masters obtaining rights by purchase or war to a slave's labor assumed certain duties toward the slave. Abuses in the matter of these duties were regarded as sinful. The Romans did not hold work in honor nor did they concede any human rights, even to life itself, to the slave. All through Christian times Christian slaves partook of the same sacraments as their masters; slaves became Christians, prelates, and one a Pope, and Christians gave themselves into bondage to liberate captives and slaves. The tendency was ever toward the emancipation of the body as well as of the soul. And this Christian attitude persisted apparently with Oglethorpe, Penn, Wesley, Patrick Henry, Franklin, Washington, and the makers of the Constitution. Slavery in the practice in America suffered many individual interpretations, and the higher law controversy left much leeway for the individual conscience.

The practical results of the higher law dispute may be dismissed rather summarily. Indignation was high in 1850 and again in 1854 over the Kansas-Nebraska Act. After this there was open hostility to the fugitive slave measures. The underground railroad began to function with smoothness and a fair degree of efficiency. The Fugitive Slave Law was held to be invalid because it contravened the law of God.<sup>55</sup> Opposition to it arose in individual and organized form. In Boston the "Boston Anti-man-hunting League" had lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and merchants in its ranks.<sup>56</sup> Opponents had laws passed, such as the personal liberty laws, in ten states, or took up arms, as

<sup>55</sup> R. C. Smedley, *The Underground Rail Road in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania*, Lancaster, 1883, 41.

<sup>56</sup> Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, 443.

Jerrit Smith in Buffalo, or brought about court resistance, as in the famous Oberlin trials. The ultimate justification for resistance was invariably the higher law, the Golden Rule. And hence, having become part of the moral fiber of the North, the principle of the higher law became exceedingly important as a moral justification for opposition to slavery. The doctrine was a source of embitterment to those in the South who did not swing the Bible to their cause, for they felt it another excuse for tampering with their institution and resented being classified as outside Christianity because of it. And thus the forces of the two, with highly bolstered justifications, marched to the crisis.

FREDERICK E. WELFLE

## The First Bookstore in Saint Louis

The first bookstore in Saint Louis was opened in 1820. Before this time, as I have written elsewhere, practically everybody sold books. If one had a drug store or a confectionery, if he sold boots and shoes or hardware, at least occasionally he offered books as a sideline. But, now, at last, when the state was coming of age and the town had a population of some forty-six hundred, Thomas Essex and Charles E. Beynroth opened the first store which limited itself to bookselling, bookbinding, and stationery. Their first announcement in the *Missouri Gazette*, on April 26, 1820, stressed the supply on hand of commercial blank books and similar supplies, but it informed the public also that the new firm was expecting shortly from Philadelphia a consignment of books. The partnership of these two men probably did not last very long, however, for on May 31 an advertisement in the *Missouri Gazette* informed the public that "The Missouri Harmony [was] just published and for sale at the Book store of Mr. Thomas Essex, St. Louis."

Before the next winter was over another change had been made. In the *Gazette* for February 21, 1821 appeared the announcement of the new firm of Essex and Hough whose Book Store and Bindery was located at 60 North Main Street. At this time they had "just received a general assortment of BOOKS, in the various branches of Literature and Science; among which is a valuable collection of Legal and Medical Works. Histories, both Ancient and Modern. Biography, Travels, Romances, Novels, Poems. A general assortment of Classical Works." They had their eye not merely on the general public and its desire for the latest or the best, but they were intent, too, on securing another and profitable line. Among a "variety of School-Books" were "Mathematics, Philosophy, natural & moral, Geographies, Arithmetics, Dictionaries, Murray's Grammars, exercise and key, English Readers, Introduction & sequel, Webster's Spelling Books." To please other prospective customers they offered on the one hand "Bibles, Common Prayer, True Piety" and on the other "a variety of Toy Books, for children." Furthermore, as a proof of the completeness of their service, they declared that they "have either now on hand, or can immediately furnish, any book that can be had in Philadelphia." In addition, of course, they carried extensive stocks of stationer's supplies.



On the 12th of May, in an advertisement in the *St. Louis Enquirer*, this firm illustrated its extensive stock of books offered "at Philadelphia prices, with the addition of carriage." History, travel, biography, and memoirs were here represented by "History of England, Charles the Vth, Cardinal de Retz, Marshall's Life of Washington, Beloe's Herodotus, Koster's Travels in Brazil, Humboldt's New Spain, Kotzebue's Journey into Persia, Gillie's Greece, Modern Europe, Gibbon's Rome, Denon's Travels in Egypt, Sully's Memoirs, Edward's West Indies, Riley's Narrative, Lewis & Clark's Expedition, Dubois' India, Life of Patrick Henry, Robertson's America, Rollin's Ancient History, Life of Jackson, De Pradt's Europe, Latrobe's Visit to S. Africa, Darby's Tour, France by Lady Morgan, Forsyth's Italy, Robertson's India, Paddock's Narrative, Tonga Islands, Sault's Abyssinnia." Of standard literature they listed Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, Shakespeare, the *Spectator*, and the "works" of Addison, Swift, Goldsmith, Hannah Moore, Scott, and Burns. In addition to these they had also "Novels, Poems, &c." For the two dozen or more lawyers in Saint Louis they carried "Bacon's Abridgement, East's Reports, Coke's Instituts, Blackstone's Commentaries, Henning & Munford's Reports, Crown Circuit Companion, Saunders Reports, Tidd's Practice & Forms, Walsh's Appeal, Sergeant & Rawle's Reports, Chitty's Pleading, Sugden's Law of Vendor, Thomas' Practice." For the doctors there were "Ferguson's Anatomy, Medical Dictionary, Desault's Surgery, Rush's Enquiries, Bell's Anatomy, Dorsey's Cooper, and Wilson on Fevers." In some sense of a philosophical or moral nature were "Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vattel's Law of Nations, Hume's Essays, Blair's Lectures, J. Q. Adams Lectures, Stewart's Philosophy, Conversations on Natural Philosophy, Smith's Moral Sentiments." A few were practical books: "Coxe on Fruit Trees, Hall's Distiller." And a few others, like "Keith on the Globes, Hutton's Mathematics, Smith's Thucydides, Dufie's Dictionary, Olive Branch, by M. Carey, Kaine's Elements," seem to be schoolbooks.

The continued activity of this firm is further shown by its advertisement of July 21. Among the "valuable publications" they now had to offer the public many were "recently from the press." They mentioned a dozen titles of law books (which included "Maddock's Chancery, Espinasse Nisi Prius, Crown Circuit Companion, Baylie's Digested Index, Hinney's [Binney?] Reports, Chitty on Bills, Equity Draftsman, Swift's Law of Evi-

dence, Chitty's Criminal Law, Beccaria on Crimes, Fonblanque's Equity, Curran's Speeches"). Among useful books of other sorts one could obtain from them Ewell's *Medical Companion*, Hooper's *Lexicon*, Tooke's *Pantheon*, Simpson's *Euclid*, Gibson's *Surveying*, Bonnycastle's *Algebra*, Wanastrocht's *Grammar*, a *Vade Mecum*, and three French dictionaries by Boyer, Duffie, and Nugent. All these, of course, were professional or otherwise "useful" books. For the reader interested in literature Essex and Hough pointed out that they had Madame de Stael's *French Revolution* and her *Influence of Literature upon Society*, Shakespeare, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Byron's *Works* ("calf extra"), Scott's *Works*, and apparently those of other poets too as well as a volume of "Elegant Extracts." In addition they announced "A variety of Novels, among which is *Kenilworth*, by the Author of *Waverley*, &c."

Three other books among the stock of Essex and Hough must be mentioned here; they have a special interest for they were local productions. Of these the first to appear was Alphonso Wetmore's three-act farce, *The Pedlar*; this was published by John A. Paxton and on May 16 announced for sale by our booksellers at fifty cents. Two weeks later the *Gazette* carried an advertisement for Paxton's *St. Louis Directory and Register, Which, besides the Names, Professions, and residence of the Inhabitants, contains a variety of useful information*. The price of this work—the first of its sort in Saint Louis—was one dollar. Three days later the *St. Louis Enquirer* announced that it had just published a volume of *Missourian Lays, and other Western Ditties* by Angus Umphraville; this book Essex and Hough offered for fifty cents.

Such was the history of the first years of the first bookstore in Saint Louis. When one remembers the size of the town and recalls that any bookseller had to compete with drugstores and general stores and auctioneers, that such a specialized store could maintain its existence says something for the reading habits of Saint Louis, for, though Essex and Hough did not continue many years in business, Saint Louis from this time on had always one and often two or more bookstores to supply its people with the best and the latest of publications as well as the most useful.

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

## DOCUMENTS

### Tonti Letters

#### INTRODUCTION

Among the travelers who roamed the length and breadth of the Mississippi Valley in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, it is doubtful whether any one's mileage can be compared with that of Henry de Tonti.<sup>1</sup> From the time of his landing at Quebec in the fall of 1678, until he died of the plague in Mobile, 1704, he was on the road. The journeys of Nicolas Perrot himself are less protracted, certainly less diversified than those of Tonti. It seems as though the Italian adventurer had not only an iron hand but an iron body. His travel book contains geographical names scattered over the United States and Canada, from Quebec to Hudson Bay, from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. During a quarter of a century, French forts and settlements, Indian villages along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River below the Illinois saw him. At one time or another he trod the ground of every state watered by the Mississippi, with the possible exception of Iowa and Minnesota. He went to Texas in 1690, explored Alabama in 1702, and was in New York, Ohio, and Michigan and possibly Pennsylvania.

Despite all his qualities, his courage, his stamina, Tonti was and remained a lieutenant. Here is probably the reason why there is no adequate study of his life and travels: "the glory of the master overshadows him who is only second in command."<sup>2</sup> A full La Salle bibliography would fill many pages, but one soon comes to the end of the list of articles, studies, books—including novels—purporting to narrate the Tonti epic. Yet first hand material is not lacking. Barring governors and intendants, there is hardly a personage in New France whose name appears more often in the official correspondence. Tonti left several memoirs, relations, and letters.<sup>3</sup> He either wrote the memoirs

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<sup>1</sup> This spelling has been adopted after comparing many specimens of his signature, cf. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, Springfield, Ill., 1920, 80, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Sulte, "Les Tontys," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series I, XI, 1894, section 1, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Henry de Tonti had a brother in Canada, Alphonse, and another brother in France, whose Christian name has not been ascertained. Tonti is writing to the latter in the letters given below, and his dear brother is

himself or paid a scribe to 'transliterate' them for him, because his handwriting was atrocious. To these copies, he appended his unmistakable signature.

The occasion for writing the two letters published below is given by Tonti himself. Both letters reached the ship at anchor off the coast before it sailed for France, March 30, 1700, and copies of both letters were being passed around in Paris in June of the same year. In the French capital many men were interested in the colony on the Gulf. The route to it from the sea had been discovered the preceding year. Quite a number of men were still alive who had given their support to La Salle's venture a decade and a half before, and were now eagerly awaiting news from the Mississippi. As can be seen from one of the marginal notes, Tonti's brother had those letters deciphered. Henry's petition would have had little chance of success if those in power had had to read them in the original. Among those interested in the new colony were two men whose extracts from copies of Tonti's letters came down to us. One well known to the students of the history of the exploration of the Mississippi Valley, Claude Delisle, the prominent geographer, and another less generally known, Father Léonard de Sainte-Catherine de Sienne, a Discalced Augustinian.<sup>4</sup>

Father Léonard was as indefatigable as Delisle in copying letters and memoirs, but his interests were more catholic. He was prior and librarian of the Paris convent in his Order, known as the 'Little Fathers.' He was especially known as a shrewd collector of manuscript until the late seventies of last century when the publisher of the monumental edition of the *Memoirs of Saint-Simon* discovered him to be also a "patient, careful chronicler, and an indefatigable annotator." The library of Father Léonard's convent was frequented by numerous friends of his who supplied him with first hand information on all sorts of subjects. As soon as his informants left, he wrote down what

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mentioned in the second of these, and also in the following document: ". . . I have just been with M. de Tonti and M. de Lamothe Cadillac. M. de Tonti is the brother of the Messrs. de Tonti who are in Canada, and takes care of their affairs in France. He is a very honest man who knows how to court the great. . . ." Tremblay to Glandelet, May 7, 1700, Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), *Lettres*, Carton O, no. 28, 35.

<sup>4</sup> The Delisle text is taken from the Library of Congress photofilm of the original, Archives du Service Hydrographique, (ASH), 115-10:n. 14. The words "Par Claude Delisle" were added later. The authorship of the various memoirs, whether they be by Claude or Guillaume Delisle, on the geography of the Valley, has not as yet been satisfactorily determined. The Léonard extracts from Tonti's letters are in Bibliothèque Nationale, (BN), Mss. fr. 9097:105-106, photostat in the Library of Congress.



he had heard, adding the date and some remarks about the visitor from whom he had obtained new data. During more than fifteen years he accumulated a huge mass of notes and since he was also a librarian, he classified them in a methodical, orderly fashion. "As a rule, the information was supplied by people who were in a position to know what was going on, and, like himself, nearly all had a real passion for biography and history, and consequently a sincere love for truth, a very keen realization of the value all this apparently secondary information was to have for the historian." So important were Father Léonard's collections that, when he died, the king ordered all the papers in his cell to be seized. "We do not know what became of the files which worried the ministers of Louis XIV." The Revolution scattered hither and yon in Paris the personal papers and hundreds of portfolios of Father Léonard's notes. Some were sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale, most to the Bibliothèque Mazarine. From this depot they were brought to the Archives Nationales, and, note the editors of the *Memoirs of Saint-Simon*, "among the mutilated débris of these two stocks we shall go more than once to find material to check" what Saint-Simon wrote.<sup>5</sup>

How copious were Father Léonard's notes on the history of New France is likely to remain unknown. Two of his remaining portfolios, one in the Archives Nationales, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale, contain important documents for the early exploration of the Mississippi River. In the Archives Nationales volume are found the letters of MM. de Montigny and Saint-Cosme, as well as one letter of Thaumur de la Source.<sup>6</sup> Other documents in this volume refer more directly to the history of New France. Léonard "wrote his name on nearly all the volumes he bought for the convent. Ordinarily he added the date when he bought them, the cost, and the circumstances which attended their acquisition."<sup>7</sup> On the fly page of the volume in the Archives Nationales is found the following inscription:

Pro captu lectoris Erunt tua fata volumen || Ce Portefeuille || Est un recueil de quelques lettres et Memoires concernant || les missions Apostoliques En Canada, En Afrique, || en Sirie Ethiopie || Fr. Leonard de S<sup>te</sup> Catherine de Sienne || Augustin deschaussé indigne ||

<sup>5</sup> A. de Boislisle, ed., *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, 25 vols., Paris, 1879-1913, I, xlv-xlix.

<sup>6</sup> AN, K 1374:n. 81, 82, 83, 84. Cf. J.-E. Roy, *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'Histoire du Canada*, Ottawa, 1911, 57-58; D. Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives for 1883*, Ottawa, 1884, 149.

<sup>7</sup> A. Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, Paris, 1870, II, 303.



Priez dieu pour moy || Viam iniquitatis amove a me, et de Lege ||  
tua miserere mei Psal. 118 v. 29

Ne spernenda putes nostra adversaria Censor  
Sin tibi, saltem aliis, prodest iste labor.

His Latin couplet proved prophetic, his work was not in vain. Some of the letters of the missionaries in this volume were published by Shea;<sup>8</sup> the letter of Saint-Cosme, was republished by Dr. Kellogg.<sup>9</sup> These copies, however, are not the only ones extant, for Delisle also copied them.<sup>10</sup> The geographer had a letter of M. de Montigny<sup>11</sup> which does not seem to have been seen by the Augustinian; and Father Léonard copied a letter of the same missionary<sup>12</sup> which Delisle did not have. In the other volume of Father Léonard's notes, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale,<sup>13</sup> are found several documents on the early exploration of the Mississippi River which are not found elsewhere. A photostat of the volume is in the Library of Congress, except the fly page, which, says Leland, has the following note: "Ce Portefeuille est un recueil de quelques memoires historiques concernant l'Amerique. Les isles adjacentes sont dans un autre portefeuille. Fr. Léonard de Ste Catherine de Sienne, Augustin deschausse indigne. Priez Dieu pour moy, 1699."<sup>14</sup> In this volume is found the extract from Tonti's letter to his brother dated March 4, 1700.

Léonard's copy is shorter than Delisle's. The Augustinian merely transcribed the description of the Mississippi River. He omitted the first letter altogether and several paragraphs at the beginning and at the end of the second letter. Except for differences in spelling and minor details, a comparison of these versions of a copy of Tonti's letters makes it clear that neither the cartographer nor the librarian omitted anything of importance pertaining to the geography of the Mississippi. It may safely be added that in the copy given them, very little that was in Tonti's original letter (which the copyist could make out) has been omitted. Who furnished the copy to Father Léonard and Delisle?

<sup>8</sup> Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, Albany, 1861, 45-86.

<sup>9</sup> L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 342-361.

<sup>10</sup> ASH, 115-10:n. 13.

<sup>11</sup> That dated from "Mississippi, May 6, 1699," in ASH, x. 115-10:n. 13.

<sup>12</sup> That dated from "Louisianne, March [May?] 3, 1699," in AN, K 1374:n. 82.

<sup>13</sup> BN, Mss. fr., 9097.

<sup>14</sup> W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Washington, D. C., 1932, 23.

Cabart de Villermont, an influential protector of the Tontis, whose interest in North America had not flagged since the days of La Salle.<sup>15</sup> Delisle expressly stated that a copy of Tonti's letter was supplied to him by Villermont,<sup>16</sup> and from the title of the sketch accompanying the relation in Father Léonard's papers, Villermont apparently also communicated a copy of these letters to Léonard.<sup>17</sup>

The letters of Tonti have been quoted or referred to more than once by students, but, to our knowledge, they have never been printed. There are several reasons for publishing them here *in extenso*. Even if the abundant corroborative evidence from other quarters were lacking, we could be quite sure of the trustworthiness of the information about the geography of the Mississippi contained in these letters. When Tonti wrote them he knew the course of the river from the Illinois to the Gulf better than any living man. He had gone down the river four times, twice to the sea, once within fifty miles and once within a few hundred miles of its mouth. Circumstances demanded that the pathfinder accurately describe what he knew, either from direct knowledge or from hearsay, and circumstances also required him to make the distinction clear. Tonti needed to vindicate his good name. A few years before a romantic account had been published under his signature. This fiction—perhaps because it was fiction—was very popular in France. Iberville had a copy of it on his first voyage and harshly criticized the fancies with which this and other similar accounts in print at the time abounded. A few weeks before Tonti wrote his letters, he had been asked to explain the discrepancies of the fiction and had disclaimed authorship. He realized how harmful the romance published under his name was to be to his interests when further comparisons were made between the inventions of the *Dernieres decouvertes* and reality. Hence, with fire in his eye, he sat down to tell his brother "exactly what he knew" of the country.

The second letter published below may be considered as

<sup>15</sup> J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 88 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Among the books, manuscripts, and sketch maps used by Delisle to prepare his 1703 map, he says he had: "Extraits de plusieurs lettres de M. de Tonty *communiquées par M. de Villermont avec un croqui de la Riv. de Mississipi et de celles qu'elle recolt* *communiquées par M. de Villermont*," ASH, 115-10:n. 17, M. The words in italics were deleted afterwards.

<sup>17</sup> "Croquis de Mississipy . . . et le 4 mars suivant. C[abart] D[e] V[illermont] BN, Mss. fr. 9097:107. C. D. V. can be read though they be very faint in the reproduction of this sketch published by G. J. Garraghan, "The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IX, 1927, facing p. 313.

Tonti's third memoir on the geography of the Mississippi Valley. In 1684, he had sent a memoir from Quebec,<sup>18</sup> narrating his adventures from 1678 to 1683. By 1690, he had another memoir ready, which he addressed to Renaudot in 1692.<sup>19</sup> Receiving no answer, and uncertain whether the abbé had communicated copies of this memoir to Villermont and Pontchartrain, he sent two copies of the same directly to Villermont.<sup>20</sup> The memoir addressed to Renaudot is signed; that sent to Villermont is not signed,<sup>21</sup> but the covering letter is signed.<sup>22</sup>

A map was enclosed with the memoir sent in 1693, but none seems to have accompanied the letter of March 4, 1700. Several sketches or croquis were made afterwards representing cartographically the information of Tonti's letter. What the present writer thinks is the first one in date is found immediately following the extract in Father Léonard's papers.<sup>23</sup> The second, a bare outline, is found among Delisle's drawings.<sup>24</sup> Harrissee, who saw both, seems to consider the Delisle's croquis anterior to Father Léonard.<sup>25</sup> The original of the third map based on the letter of Tonti is in the Collections of the Chicago Historical Society.<sup>26</sup> Jacques Bureau, the author of this colored map, speaks of the "S' C. D." as having drawn it. These initials stand perhaps for Claude Delisle. A Bureau is mentioned several

<sup>18</sup> Tonti to . . . , November 14, 1684, two copies in BN, Clairambault, 1016:220-226 and 267-279, printed in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1886-1888, I, 573-616, hereinafter quoted as Margry. The French text and a page for page English translation was published by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of Henri de Tonty*, Chicago, 1898.

<sup>19</sup> BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:103-108.

<sup>20</sup> Archives des Colonies, (AC), C 13C, 3:128-141v. Cf. Tonti to Villermont, September 2, 1693, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:285-285bis, printed in Margry, V, 3-5, under the date of September 11, 1694, and Alphonse de Tonti to Villermont, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:316-316v.

<sup>21</sup> It has often been published. It first appeared in English in Falconer, *On the Discovery of the Mississippi*, London, 1844, 47-96; in French, in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits*, Paris, 1867, 5-36. Falconer's translation has often been republished, the latest and best is that of Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 283-318.

<sup>22</sup> Printed in Falconer, reprinted in *Louisiana Historical Collections*, I, 82; the French text and another English translation in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations, 1680-1693*, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIII, Springfield, Ill., [1934], 276-282.

<sup>23</sup> BN, Mss. fr., 9097:107, reproduced by G. J. Garraghan in "The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IX, 1927, facing p. 313.

<sup>24</sup> AN, JJ, 75-249.

<sup>25</sup> Harrissee, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des Pays adjacents*, Paris, 1872, p. 215, no. 261.

<sup>26</sup> A very much reduced reproduction has been published in the *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society*, II, 1937, facing p. 72.

times in Delisle's papers. It may also be that Bureau overlooked the "V" of the "C. D. V." on Léonard's sketch. The draughtsman added in the title "suivant le croquis de la main du dit Sr. Tonti." At Fort Mississippi, where the letter was written, Tonti was hardly in a position to draw a sketch, and neither he, nor Léonard, nor Delisle make mention of such a croquis. From the wording of the titles of the two sketches, it is clear that both drew the map from the data contained in Tonti's letter. The variants of these three maps are mentioned in the notes to the text.

I

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF M. TONTI TO HIS BROTHER, DATED  
FROM THE QUINIPISSA VILLAGE IN MISSISSIPPI, 60 LEAGUES  
FROM THE SEA, FEBRUARY 28, 1700.

A small English vessel ascended the river 30 leagues, August 3, 1699.<sup>1</sup> M. de Bienville ordered the captain, in the name of the king, to withdraw, which he did, saying, however, he would come back to establish himself on the River.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his letter of March 4, *infra*, Tonti is the first to give the name which the place was to bear, Détour des Anglais, or Détour aux Anglais, English Turn, as it is called today. The meaning is 'about face.' In his second letter, Tonti gives the autumn as the date; the same time of the year is given by M. de Montigny, in his letter dated New York, July 17, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:130v. He adds that the intruders were coming to found a colony of French Protestants, cf. Margry, IV, 397. Le Sueur, in his letter dated Natchez, April 4, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:5v, has in the month of August. Father Léonard in his copy of M. Ricouart's relation, gives September, BN, Mss. fr., 9097:108. In this manuscript, as well as in Gravier's letter, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:170, it is said that Iberville met Captain Bond. Iberville was in France at the time. The date of the meeting of the representatives of the two great rival countries is given as September 5, 1699, O. S., in *Illinois Historical Collections*, IX, 416-417; September 15, N. S., in the journal of Sauvolle, Margry, IV, 456; September 16, in La Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831, 19. The distances given in these various accounts vary between twenty to thirty leagues, fifty to eighty miles, from the mouth of the river. English Turn is slightly less than one hundred miles from the Gulf. Coxe, *Description of the English Province of Carolina*, . . . London, 1727, Preface, 3, says that Captain Bond was one hundred miles inland. See the fanciful account of the meeting in Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, I, 6-7, and the still more fanciful narrative in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, I, 276.

<sup>2</sup> Bienville having ordered Captain Bond to withdraw, the Englishman asked the Canadian "si nous avions des habitâtons plus haut, il luy respondit qu'oûly il s'en retourna apres avoir assuré led. Sr DeBienville qu'il reviendrait de voir dans peu et afin qu'il le put reconnoître de plus loing, il luy fit present de lunettes d'approches [!]," Le Sueur in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:6. "Et nous croyant établis en haut, il [Bond] a pris le party de s'en retourner, assurant les nostres qu'on le reverroit l'année prochaine," Journal of Sauvolle, in Margry, IV, 456. The English captain "ne fist aucune resistance, mais dit jusqu'a l'honneur de vous revoir, car dans



I notified you last year how I had escorted the ecclesiastics of the Foreign Missions<sup>3</sup> to the Akanceas, 300 leagues from the sea.<sup>4</sup> MM. de Montigny, Davion and Buisson de Saint-Cosme<sup>5</sup> made known to the two Bishops of Quebec<sup>6</sup> the services I rendered them.<sup>7</sup> I received from them congratulatory letters and offers of protection at Court.

Last fall, when I was at Michilimackinac,<sup>8</sup> I learned by a let-

cinq ou six mois, vous my reverrez pour etablir une colonie, nous en avons fait la decouverte avant vous, . . .," Ricouart's relation in BN, Mss. fr., 9097:108. On the prior rights of the English, cf. *Jesuit Relations*, 65:172. Coxe in the preface of his *Carolana*, inveighs against Captain Bond for his withdrawal, cf. de Villier's explanation in "La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontieres successives," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., XXI, 1928, 44. Details on this English expedition will be found in V. W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, Durham, 1928, 47-57.

<sup>3</sup> This episode in the history of the missions in the Mississippi Valley may be studied in an unpublished manuscript by the Abbé [later Cardinal] Taschereau, *Histoire du Séminaire de Québec chez les Tamarois ou Illinois sur les bords du Mississippi*; in A. Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr de Laval*, Québec, 1890, II, 340 ff.; C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1896, III, 550 ff.; G. J. Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI, 1928, 98-146; J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans*, Belleville, Ill., 1929, 148 ff.; M. B. Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763*, Cleveland, 1931, 33 ff.; a short sketch is in Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763*, Washington, D. C., 1935, 20-23.

<sup>4</sup> Estimating distances by "dead reckoning" supplied very divergent results. The actual distance from the Gulf to the Arkansas River along the Mississippi is 690 miles; 300 leagues would be 810 miles. Just as Tonti forced the distance in this case, he underestimated it in other accounts, giving 182, 204, and 232 leagues. The latter is also obtained when one adds up the distances supplied by the letter of March 4. Iberville's total distance from the sea to the Arkansas River—his own estimate up to the Red River and the Indians' estimate from the Red River to the Arkansas—is singularly accurate; he calculated there were 263½ leagues, 710 miles, and he compared it with what he found in Le Clercq, 190 leagues, Margry, IV, 180-181.

<sup>5</sup> Francois Jolliet de Montigny, 1699-174? Cf. Gosselin, "M. de Montigny," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXX, 1925, 171-176; Taschereau, *Histoire du Séminaire*, 10-11. Antoine Davion, 166?-1726, left Louisiana after 1723, Taschereau, *Histoire*, 98. Jean-François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, 1667-1706. This missionary was killed by the Chitimacha Indians in the winter of the latter year, cf. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 63, n. 88; he was the second priest of the Séminaire to meet death at the hands of the natives; four years previously, M. Foucault had been murdered by the Koroa Indians, *Ibid.*, 33-34.

<sup>6</sup> Saint-Vallier, the actual Bishop of Quebec, and Laval, who had resigned his see in 1685, but was still referred to as M. l'Ancien [Evêque de Québec].

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. P. Keliogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 343.

<sup>8</sup> Tonti leaving the missionaries at the mouth of the Arkansas River, returned to the Illinois country, and thence to Michilimackinac, where he wrote the Bishop of Quebec giving his version of the difficulties which had arisen between the Missions Etrangères priests and the Jesuits. Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), *Missions*, n. 49, printed below. The addressee "Monseigneur" is Saint-Vallier, as it appears from a letter of Laval to Tremblay of 1699, Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, *Transcript Letters*, Laval, 1659-1705.



ter brought from New England &c which M. d'Iberville wrote to his brother in Canada that he had entered the Mississippi.<sup>9</sup> Thereupon I resolved to go to meet him, hoping to be of service to him, since I have a perfect knowledge of this country, although I could have felt some jealousy seeing another in a country where I had the right to hope for everything after the expenses I underwent for the service of the king. I came down here and I am well pleased I made 900 leagues for such a purpose. When M. d'Iberville told me he was going to the Ceniz [Hassinai],<sup>10</sup> I made him offers of service, having formerly visited these people. This pleased him much, as he testifies in a letter he wrote to M. de Maurepas.<sup>11</sup> He showed me the particular passage [praising Tonti] of this letter.

As he has long been a friend of mine, he told me the following in confidence. When he was ready to leave for this country, since it was necessary that a number of Frenchmen should come from Canada to meet him, he mentioned me to M. de Latouche. The latter replied that I would not do, that I was a debauchee.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Iberville reached the Gulf Coast January 24, 1699, Margry, IV, 96, 105, 140, 227, and entered the Mississippi, March 2, *Ibid.*, 158, 246. M. de Montigny wrote in August, 1699, that they were surprised, at the end of April, in the Illinois country, he had not heard of the coming of Iberville. The reason, says the missionary, was because he had left the Taensa for Chicago at the beginning of February, one month before Iberville entered the Mississippi. Montigny to —, [August 20, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121; this letter is translated in Calder, *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*, New York, 1935, 201-206; it is erroneously said to be addressed to Pontchartrain; from the context, *Monseigneur* is either Laval or Saint-Vallier. Montigny's letter to *Monsieur*, dated March 3, 1699, AN, K 1374:n. 82, should be dated May 3, 1699. In it Montigny wrote: "It is said here [Illinois, the date-line has "de la Louisianne"] that M. d'Iberville . . . is coming this year, and that he left France in the fall of last year for these places. . . ." "It was believed at the Outaouacs that M. d'Iberville had come by sea at the mouth of the Mississippi, but we heard nothing of it, except what I have just told you," Thaumur de la Source to the Reverend Mother —, April 18, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. The letter printed in Shea, *Early Voyages*, is from a different copy found in the papers of Father Léonard, AN, K 1374:n. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Margry, IV, 409. Hereafter the spelling of the names of the Indian tribes, adopted by the United States Bureau of Ethnology, will be found in brackets.

<sup>11</sup> Jérôme Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas. The announcement that his father, Louis Phélypeaux, had been made Chancellor of France, and that he was to take the post of Minister of the Colonies, with his father's title of Comte de Pontchartrain, was not yet known in Louisiana, AM, B 2, 141:295.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps an explanation of this passage is to be found in a letter of Father Gravier to Cabart de Villermont, a protector and a correspondent of the two Tontis, Henry and Alphonse. Villermont should not expect too much from the missionary, Alphonse de Tonti will give him the news of what is taking place in Canada, for in the Illinois wilderness there is little of interest, wrote Gravier. "I have notified M. his brother [Henry], who is captain and commandant of Fort St. Louis, Illinois, . . . of the

I don't know who they are who painted such an ugly portrait of me. I have had a few quarrels with the Jesuits about matters which had nothing to do with debauchery. I can only accuse them of the bad services rendered me, directly or indirectly, in the [colonial] office, or M. the Intendant of Canada who has always opposed us.<sup>13</sup>

M. Le Sueur<sup>14</sup> gladdened me much when he told me that the king gave you a 200 pistoles pension.

When we return from the Cenis you will learn what we have discovered. When I was there<sup>15</sup> the Indians assured me I was at 7 days journey from the mines of the Spaniards,\* and if my men had not abandoned me,<sup>16</sup> I would have succeeded. Forty Spaniards pursued me as far as the village of the Cadodaquios [Ka-

obliging manner you did me the honor of writing to me. Without mentioning you, he wrote me in a manner showing that he does not reprove of the scandalous conduct of M. dilliettes, his cousin [Desliettes, Deliette, de Liette, the French form of the Italian de Lietto, or Delietto; the maiden name of Tonti's mother was Isabella de Lietto]. Gravier asked Villermont to let Tonti know of his interest in the welfare of the mission and how he would be pleased should Tonti help the missionary in his work of evangelization of the Illinois. "Since he is in this country, he [Tonti] has forgotten nothing to disparage the Jesuit missionaries in the mind of the Illinois Indians. I must not be more specific, this the first time I have the honor of writing to you, but what I can say is that M. Dilliette, his cousin, whom he left here [in command] during the two years he has been absent, did more both by his debauchery and his impious talk to disparage the truths of the Gospel than can be imagined." Gravier had informed the Bishop of Quebec and his superior of what was taking place. Since Tonti has so much consideration for Villermont, the missionary asked his correspondent to expostulate with the commandant. "M. de Tonti having been unable to obtain from my Lord the Bishop a Recollect Father, told me on arriving here, that he was going once more to Quebec to get one. *Utinam omnes prophetant!* As one finds it hard to do one's duty, one finds it hard to let me do mine." Gravier to Villermont, March 17, 1694, "de la mission de l'immaculée conception de N. D. au fort St. Louis des Illinois," BN, Mss. fr., 22804:59-60v. It took two years and a half for Villermont's letter to reach Gravier; the missionary's letter may not have reached Paris before 1696. Keeping in mind how much Villermont liked to talk, he very likely spoke of the contents of the letter in the Paris Colonial Office. Tonti himself was not a debauchee, his failure to reprove the bad conduct of his cousin seems to have led Latouche, the head clerk of the Colonial Office, to make Tonti morally responsible.

<sup>13</sup> Jean Bochart de Champigny, Intendant of New France 1686-1702.

<sup>14</sup> Pierre-Charles Le Sueur (1657-1704), was on his way to the Upper Mississippi on his mining expedition; Tonti met him near today's New Orleans, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:7v.

<sup>15</sup> Tonti is here referring to his southwestern journey, 1689-1690; see his account in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la France dans les pays d'outre-mer*, Paris, 1867, 28 ff., translated in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 312 ff.

\* The Cenis at 7 days journey from the mines. The Cadodaquios at 80 leagues from the Cenis. (Delisle inserted, for his own guidance, marginal notes referring mainly to locations and distances. The geographer intended to make use of the information for his maps. Asterisk footnotes will be used hereafter for his marginal remarks.)

<sup>16</sup> The account of this desertion, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 315-316.

dohadacho], 80 leagues from the Ceniz,<sup>17</sup> but fortunately I had left a few days before.

I am very sorry to see a relation [published] under my name to which much has been added and in which the memoirs I sent you were not followed point by point.<sup>18</sup> It is disagreeable to pass for a liar. It would please me if you could retrieve my memoirs and exhibit them when necessary. My letter having been found at the Quinipissa village by M. d'Iberville,<sup>19</sup> I think there will be no doubt of my having come several times to the sea and to the lower part of this river.<sup>20</sup>

Let the minister know the importance of the voyage I am about to undertake, although my business requires my presence in the Illinois country, where I think La Forest<sup>21</sup> has arrived; make the most of the voyage I made to the Iroquois country when M. de Denonville was in this country. I led overland nearly 300 Indians from the Illinois country. I made 400 leagues\* and joined him in the Sonnontouan [Seneca] country.<sup>22</sup> It cost me nearly 800 *pistoles*<sup>23</sup> to equip them and I have never been reimbursed anything. The petition for reimbursement has been useless,<sup>24</sup> and I think that that is the cause of the enmity of M. de Champigny Intendant of Canada. M. de Denonville can testify to it. However ask nothing for me until you receive some of my letters through M. d'Iberville. I think the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions will help me because I have been strongly recommended to them.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Delisle's marginal note, *infra*.

<sup>18</sup> Tonti is here referring to the notorious *Dernieres decouvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale; Mises au jour par M. le chevalier Tonti gouverneur de Fort Saint Louis, aux Illinois*, Paris, 1697; on this pseudo-Tonti, cf. Delanglez, *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, Chicago, 1938, 20-24.

<sup>19</sup> Margry, IV, 190. This letter dated "Du Village des Quinipissas, le 20 avril, 1685 (1686)," was given to Sauvolle, *Ibid.*, 274, and was brought to Iberville by Bienville.

<sup>20</sup> That is, twice to the Gulf, once with La Salle, 1682, and a second time in 1686; down the Mississippi also twice, in 1689-1690, when he went as far south as the Koroa village, and now to Fort Mississippi.

<sup>21</sup> François Daupin, Sieur de la Forest (1649-1714), Tonti's partner in the Illinois trade monopoly.

\* 400 l. from the Illinois to Sonnontouan.

<sup>22</sup> Tonti narrated this expedition in his memoir of 1693, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 308-311.

<sup>23</sup> An ordinance of Callières and Champigny, September 24, 1700, fixed the value of the "Louis d'or ou pistole" in Canada at 17 livres, 13 sols, 4 deniers, its value in France was 13 livres, 5 sols. Cf. Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, third series, XI, 1917-1918, Section 1, 174.

<sup>24</sup> The petition for reimbursement is found in the summary of letters written from Canada in 1687, AC, C 11A, 9:158.

M. d'Iberville having built a fort on the [Mississippi] river, 18 leagues from the sea,<sup>25</sup> he went ahead on his way to the Cenís. I am sending you this by a launch he is dispatching to the ships. I shall be with him tomorrow. For the present I did not think I ought to send any memoir to the court about this country. It will suffice to tell M. d'Iberville all I know; he will notify the Court. I am sure of his friendship; he will do all he can for me.

## II

SECOND LETTER WRITTEN BY M. DE TONTI TO HIS BROTHER, FROM  
FORT MISSISSIPPI, MARCH 4, 1700.

I wrote you a letter [the 28 of last] month in which I informed you that I was to accompany M. d'Iberville to the Cenís. When I arrived at the Quinipissa village, I found everything changed.<sup>1</sup> M. d'Iberville told me he wished me to go to the Chickachas [Chickasaw] to arrest an Englishman who has settled among them<sup>2</sup> . . . [sic] with the said Canadians . . . [sic] when

<sup>25</sup> Fort Mississippi, cf. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 12-13, MID-AMERICA, XIX, 1937, 155-156.

<sup>\*</sup> Fort Mississippi, 18 l. from the sea.

<sup>1</sup> Tonti's progress can be followed almost day by day during these few weeks. The chronology explains the date of the two letters and disposes of his suspicions as to the cause of Iberville's change of plan. Tonti was evidently piqued because his trip to the West was cancelled and he cast about for a Jesuit on whom to put the blame—quite a common explanation for untoward happenings among officials and adventurers of New France and Louisiana. Tonti left the Illinois country early in 1700. He arrived at Fort Mississippi, February 16, at night, Margry, IV, 404; *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, R. L. Butler, ed., Chicago, 1934, 12. Three days later, he left for the north with Iberville, Margry, IV, 405. Near the sight of present day New Orleans, Iberville went ahead alone, cf. Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:8, wishing to go to the Huma before ascending the Red River, Margry, IV, 367. On arriving at the Bayougoula village, Iberville sent back a launch to the ships at anchor off the coast. Tonti sent his first letter by this launch. Bad news reached Iberville on his return to the Bayougoula village. An Englishman was urging the Chickasaw to make war against the Mississippi tribes and kill M. Davion. He was also carrying on a brisk slave trade. Iberville asked Tonti to go to arrest the Englishman, a task which he accepted. In the end Tonti did not go to the Chickasaw country, but returned to the Illinois. Cf. Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:12, Margry, IV, 406, 418; *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 31; and Iberville cancelled his own trip up the Red River, because of an ailment that prevented him from walking, Margry, IV, 416; he sent his brother Bienville instead.

<sup>2</sup> Le Sueur wrote in his journal that Tonti was sent to "arrest an Englishman from Carolina who made several presents to the Chickasaw to murder M. Davion, the Tunica missionary. For the past ten or twelve years this Englishman has been carrying on a slave trade. He sends the Chickasaw to get the slaves on the banks of the Mississippi. M. de Tonti assured me that, to his knowledge, the Englishman caused the destruction of 2,000 souls. He only buys women and children paying 100 écus [300 livres] apiece, and breaks the heads of the men," BN, Mss. fr. n. a.,



it was known that I was to accompany him, since, should something happen to him, the [leadership of the] voyage he was about to undertake would fall upon young men. I thought this change could only come because of a letter he received from a Jesuit who is in the Illinois country.<sup>3</sup> He was given a Bayougoula. I think that, being entirely devoted to those people [Jesuits] he did not wish to offend the Company [of Jesus] who is very an-

21395:8. For English activities on the Mississippi at this time consult: AN, K 1374:n. 82; ASH, 115-10:n. 13, 115-32:n. 4; *Jesuit Relations*, 65: 116-118; Margry, IV, 362, 402, 545, etc.

<sup>3</sup> "Poor M. de Tonti became the victim of the resentment of the Jesuits. He had gone down to meet M. d'Iberville, 500 leagues below the Tamarois, and had at first been well received. M. d'Iberville had promised to take him along to the Senis and to the mines of Santa Barbara; but suddenly a letter from Father Bineteau effected a change in the dispositions of the commandant. M. de Tonti was ordered to go to Chicago take an Englishman from Carolina who had settled there and to bring or send him to Fort Maurepas. It was a hard and dangerous expedition which Tonti only agreed to undertake with much repugnance." *Histoire du Séminaire*, 11. Taschereau is here quoting a letter of Tremblay to Laval, dated June 12, 1700. M. Tremblay was extremely prejudiced against the Jesuits and hence his statements cannot be readily accepted. Whether the name of Bineteau was in the original Tonti letter cannot be ascertained; it is more probable that it was not, otherwise Delisle would have copied it. Because of his stand in the controversy, Father Bineteau was the *bête noire* of Tremblay. After seeing the addition about the mines of Santa Barbara, and Chicago substituted for Chickasaw, one is entitled to be very skeptical about the other statements of the abbé. The only worthwhile information in Tremblay's communication to Laval is the fact that Tonti's letters had reached Paris in June, 1700. Tonti's assumption that he was sent to the Chickasaw because of a letter received from a Jesuit in the Illinois country is gratuitous. Iberville mentions no letter received from a Jesuit at this time in his Journal; Du Ru who was with Iberville, knew nothing of the letter sent by his Illinois confrère to the commandant of the expedition. A Jesuit, Father Marest, and not Father Bineteau as asserted by Tremblay, wrote to Iberville four months later, on July 10, 1700, cf. AN, JJ, 75-265. The information which determined Iberville to send Tonti to the East rather than to the West came, not from the Jesuits, but from Tonti's friends, the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions, the confrères of M. Tremblay, cf. the letter of Iberville to the Minister, February 26, 1700, AC, C 13A, 1:306; Margry, IV, 306; and the letter of M. de Montigny, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:122v. With Iberville the safety of the missionary and the protection of the Indians on the banks of the Mississippi against the Chickasaw raids outweighed the likes and dislikes of Tonti. In July, 1699, Tonti had written from Michilimackinac to Saint-Vallier that he kept aloof from the jurisdictional difficulties between the Jesuits and the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions. The truth is that he added fuel to the fire. The letter of Gravier quoted above and Tonti's own letter showed that he and the Jesuits were not the best of friends. In the summer of 1699, he told the Jesuits at Michilimackinac that he was to build a church for M. de Montigny near that of the Jesuits at Fort St. Louis, Letter of Laval to Tremblay, [end of 1699], in the Archives of the Archbishopric, Quebec, *Transcript Letters*, Laval, 1659-1705, copie sur copie faite d'après l'original conservé au Séminaire de Québec et disparu. In March, 1700, Tonti was conscious that his talk of the preceding summer did not please the Jesuits, and now, probably as an excuse for such talk, he chose to see in the commission sending him to the Chickasaw a token of the resentment of the Jesuits.



gry with me because I accompanied the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions to the Mississippi. Since M. d'Iberville is a great friend of mine, I did not want to come to an explanation as to the cause of his change; I was satisfied with telling him that when it was question of the king's service, I cared very little about what the whole of Canada would say. Since he believed it was to be of service to the king to fetch Englishmen, I would do my best to arrest him, but since I had only eight men, if I caught the Englishman, I would send him back with five men commanded by M. de la Ronde,<sup>4</sup> *garde-marine*; afterward I would continue my journey with the rest [of my men] to join La Forest who must have arrived in the Illinois country. M. Le Sueur told me you presented a petition to the king on my behalf, and that the king answered you [illegible word, saying?] you should believe that nothing took place in this country without my participation. Hence you must not miss this opportunity. A fort has been built here [on the Mississippi]. If M. de Bienville, brother of M. d'Iberville, who is king's lieutenant of the one on the Bay of the Billochis,<sup>5</sup> 27 leagues from here,<sup>6</sup> on the sea shore, remains commandant, you would please me extremely if you could ask the commandantship [of Fort Mississippi] for me, with the pay [of a fort commandant]. What to do? [There is] no more trade since it has been forbidden by the Court.<sup>7</sup> Write a petition and represent that my hand was blown away; that I was four years *garde-marine* in Sicily, being captain-lieutenant of M. de Vintimille; that I accompany M. de La Salle in the discovery [of 1682]; that in '85, I went to considerable expenses to meet him in the Gulf in order to help him at his arrival; that afterward I led 300 Indians to M. de Denonville; that I made several other expenses to harass the Iroquois according to the orders I received from M. de Denonville; that afterward I went to the Cenis, seven leagues† from the Spaniards to fetch the rem-

<sup>4</sup> Louis Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, cf. L. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général . . . du Canada*, Ottawa, 1931, s. v.

<sup>5</sup> The fort built near today's Ocean Springs, Mississippi, by Iberville at the time of his first voyage, was called Fort de Maurepas at the beginning, Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121, 123v; Letter of Le Sueur, BN, Mss. fr., 21395:5v; later, from the name of the Indians whom Iberville first encountered, Margry, V, 377, it became known as Fort of the Biloxi, ". . . le fort de Maurepas a present appellé le fort des Bilochies. . . ." Extract from an anonymous journal beginning in May, 1700, BN, Mss. fr., 21690:315v, entry for July, 1700.

<sup>6</sup> Fort Mississippi is 27 leagues from that of Billoch.

<sup>7</sup> Tonti is alluding to the royal declaration of May, 1696, which suppressed all trade permits.

† The Cenis 7 days journey from the Spaniards. It should be 7 days journey.

nants of M. de La Salle's [men]; that when my men seized by panic abandoned me, I was obliged to go back, and that the Spaniards, 80 in number pursued\* me as far as the Cadodaquios [village], which I had left 6 days before; that as soon as I knew that M. d'Iberville had entered the river, I came down for the third time to give him all possible information about this country; twenty coureurs de bois joined me 100 leagues from Fort St. Louis, they came [with me] hither [word illegible]; that my company was destroyed with the death of the men of M. de La Salle; that I never received any pay. I have no doubt that, by exposing all this properly, I shall get something from the Court and in order to give you some opening to speak of this country, here is an exact outline of what I know about it.

I begin with the sea (into which this Mississippi river)<sup>7</sup> empties through three channels (mouths). The river is the most beautiful in the world, since it has 900 leagues<sup>8</sup> without rapids from its mouth to the Falls of Saint Anthony, and without portages, with a fine width throughout and a deep bed. It winds very much, which renders it impracticable for ships, and it can only be ascended to the place called the English Turn 30 leagues from the sea,<sup>†</sup> where a small ship of that nation ascended this [i. e., last] autumn. Its banks are covered with canes, vast woods and admirable lands. This river overflows at places; the flood lasts about two weeks or a month. There are 18 leagues to the sea from the new fort situated on the right bank going up.<sup>‡</sup> Below, the country is flooded. The spot here appears high enough,<sup>§</sup> the land is admirable. Thirty-six leagues from here a fork is found,<sup>10</sup> it goes down to the sea; going down this branch, on the

\* I suspect the original has: they pursued me for 80 leagues.

<sup>7</sup> The words in parentheses are taken from the copy made by Father Léonard, his extract begins here.

<sup>8</sup> In his previous descriptions Tonti estimated 800 leagues, 2,160 miles, from the Gulf to the Falls of St. Anthony, 200 miles more than the actual distance. The 900 leagues of the text may be an error of transcription. The year before, M. de Montigny had written: "The Mississippi is the most beautiful river in the world. One thousand leagues [2,700 miles] of it have been seen from the mouth up, and it is not known how many more leagues there are up to its source," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10: n. 13.

<sup>†</sup> Ships can only ascend the Mississippi 30 l. as far as the English turn.

<sup>‡</sup> The fort is 18 leagues from the mouth, it is on the right going up. The spot is high and the land good.

<sup>§</sup> Iberville built his fort on this spot because there was a sort of natural levee. Later in the year, and the following years, the fort was flooded at high waters.

<sup>10</sup> This distance 54 leagues makes 145 miles. Iberville wrote: "Three leagues from their village [Bayougoula, which was 64 leagues, hence 180 miles from the Gulf], on the left, going up, there is a creek by which they

left, there are three villages, the Ouaches (Acacha) [Washa], the Chitimacha [Chitimacha] and the Quisitou (Aynisitou) [Yagenechito];<sup>11</sup> these three villages make about 250 men. This fork does not seem very considerable. The Indians settled on it (who are in the neighborhood) fish pearls, I gave three to M. d'Iberville.

go in canoe to the Outimachas [Chitimacha] and to the Magnesito [Yagenechito], three days journey from here to the west," Margry, IV, 172. Bayou La Fourche, Louisiana, is 210 miles from the sea. Iberville is referring to some other "fourche" of the network of bayous in Lower Louisiana, cf. the sketch, "Embouchure du Mississipi," in AN, JJ, 75-244, the data of this sketch were embodied in Delisle's map of 1701, SHB, C 4040-4. "Five leagues below the [Bayogoula] village, we find on the north side a small arm of the Mississippi, which Monsieur de la Salle mentions; he says that it has a depth of over 30 brasses of water, and is very convenient for large vessels. But Monsieur d'Iberville—who had the same inspected, and who caused soundings to be taken—did not find water deep enough to float a launch." Gravier's Voyage, 1700, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:159, cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 18. The small arm spoken of by Father Gravier seems to be the "fourche" of Tonti, cf. the sketch in AN, JJ, 75-249, "Croquis du Mississipi. . . Par M<sup>r</sup> de Tonty." The famous "fourche" so earnestly sought by Iberville in his first voyage, is given in Tonti's first account, Margry, I, 604, as being 84 leagues (82 leagues in the second) from the sea, this is the distance from the Gulf to Plaquemine, Louisiana, 15 miles north of Bayou La Fourche. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith*, 175, locates the "fork" at the same distance from the Gulf. It is likely that these two—very probably interdependent—accounts, do refer to Bayou La Fourche. The space at our disposal precludes all discussion of the consequences the belief that Bayou La Fourche was a branch of the Mississippi was to have on the subsequent history of the exploration of the river.

<sup>11</sup> Ethnographers hold as probable that the Yagenechito were a division of the Chitimacha, F. H. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Washington, D. C., 1907, s. v. From a reading of the accounts of explorers, some of which are still extant and others lost, Delisle seems to have understood the Chitimacha and the Yagenechito to be subdivisions of the Washa, cf. the AN, JJ, 75-244 sketch. The sketch is found in Delisle's papers, although it is more probable that the geographer did not draw it he embodied the information in the maps he drew after 1700, cf. AN, JJ, 75-253; SHB, C 4040-4; *ibid.*, 4049-32; ASH, 140-4. De Fer copied all this in his inaccurate maps of the Gulf Coast, cf. SHB, C 4044-45, "Ouacha 3 nations ensemble," this drawing is a reproduction of SHB, C 4040-2, minus the lateral legends. The "Carte du Mississipi" of 1700, ASH, 138 bis-1-3, also a De Fer map has "Ouacha 2 nations." See SHB, 4040-5, another De Fer sketch copied by Father Gentil, BN, Ge DD 2632, p. 81, reproduced in Marcel, *Reproduction de Cartes et de Globes* . . . , Paris, 1893, Atlas, plate 17. The region is legended "les Ouachas" in Delisle's map of 1702, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Delisle was confirmed in his opinion after an interview with M. de Bouteville, a missionary who had spent several years in Louisiana, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 23. To the geographer's question Bouteville answered: "qu'il y avoit plus" nations dans la fourche que faisoit le Mississipi avant que de se jeter dans la mer et qu'on les connoissoit toutes sous le nom d'Ouacha," ASH, 115-10:n. 17, Y. In the following decade when Delisle received his information from Lemaire, he omitted altogether the generic name for the three tribes, the Yagenechito are not found on the map of 1718, although the Lemaire sketch of 1716, ASH, 138bis-1-6, still has them. The three tribes are given in the following North-Southwest order, along the "fourche" in the two sketches based on Tonti's second letter: "Agnisitou, Chitimacha, Acacha."

Six leagues above the fork,\* on the left, are found the Quinipissa [Acolapissa], Bayougoula (Bajougoula) [Bayougoula], Mongoulacha (Mongoulache) [Mugulasha], who together make about 180 men.<sup>12</sup> From the fort to these villages, the land is almost always the same. From these villages to the Sablonniere [Red] River, there are 40 leagues.<sup>13</sup> On the right [bank of the Red River] there are three villages together,† the Oisitas (Onositas [Wichita], Nachitoché, Capiche.<sup>14</sup> I am not giving you the number [of men], [for] since I was there, they may have diminished. I am not telling you how far they are from the mouth of the Sablonniere, for there is another Rochet[?] three leagues days journey from there going up the Mississippi to Canada, one finds the Canada [sic] on the right,<sup>15</sup> and eight days journey

The order is inverted in Bureau's croquis: "Akacha, Chitimacha, Agnisitou."

\* The Quinipissa higher than the fork.

<sup>12</sup> "May 17, [1699], we arrived at the village of the Kinipissas. There are one hundred huts including the Bajougoula and the Mogoulacha who joined them and who make one village," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:123 v. In May, 1700, M. de Montigny learned that the Bayougoula chief had wiped out the Acolapissa and Mugulasha man-folk, *Id.* to . . . , July 17, 1700, *Ibid.*, 129; more than 200 men were massacred, says Father Gravier, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:156.

<sup>13</sup> Tonti had estimated the distance as 30 leagues in his second account, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 301. If the mileage from the Gulf up to this point is added up, it is found to be 50 miles short of the actual distance. ". . . A la riviere Rouge que M. Dyberville nomme la riviere de Marne . . . le mesme jour [March 19, 1700] j'ay pris hauteur a l'emboucheure de ladite riviere et trouvé

31<sup>a</sup> 30<sup>m</sup> distance du soleil au zenith,  
22<sup>m</sup> declinaison sud,

31<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>m</sup> latitude nord."

Extract from the letter of Le Sueur, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:11. This is remarkably accurate, being only a few minutes from the true latitude of the mouth of the Red River, 31° 2'.

† And the Nasitas, Nachitoches and Nada.

<sup>14</sup> In his second memoir (Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 314) Tonti calls these three tribes Ouasita, Nachicoche, and Capiche; they were branches of the Wichita, a confederacy of Caddoan stock. Neither the first name nor the last appear on the croquis; along the Red River, which is nameless, are found reading upward the Natita, the Nadao, and the Nachitoché, all on the north bank of the River. Father Léonard has in the same order along La Sablonniere, the Onasita, Nadao, and Nachitoché; Bureau lists the tribes as follows Onasita, Nachitoché, and Kapiche. M. de Montigny wrote: "They [Taensa] told us that the Natchez and the Kahapitch, who are nations 30 or 40 leagues distant from the Taensa, had come to see us; and that not having found us, they were soon to come back," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:126v. Three months earlier he had written: ". . . upon [the Red River] are found the Natchitoches, then farther up one finds the Nassonis and several other nations who are at war with the Spaniards of Mexico; these are near enough to these tribes." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. When M. de Montigny wrote these words he had not gone below the Taensa, and had this information from Tonti.

<sup>15</sup> This seems to be a distraction of the copyist. In the margin he has



farther up [the Red River] are found the Nassonis (Nossonis) [Nasoni], Nachitoché and Cadodaquio. Leaving these three villages, and crossing the river, which is not a very large one,\* on the left is found a road leading to the Cenís through a pleasant enough country where are good ash-trees, oaks, small hillocks and meadows.

From the mouth of the Sablonniere† to the Ommas (Oumas) [Huma], four leagues.<sup>16</sup> They number about . . . [sic] (200) men<sup>17</sup> located on hillocks one league and a half from the [Mississippi] river.<sup>18</sup> It can be said that they have the best land. The stalks of [their] Indian corn are 20 feet high. From this tribe to the Quinipissa, the country is the same as I described before, except that one finds, going up, two places where are hillocks for settlements.

From the Ommas (Oumas) to the Naché [Natchez],‡ 25 leagues,<sup>19</sup> same banks. Their land is reached after crossing 50 leagues of hillocks.<sup>20</sup> The tribe counts from 8 to 900 men. Their

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the Nada; the name of the second tribe on the Red River is Nadao, the first is Natita, the Nasitas of the marginal note, probably the Natasi. The Nasoni are not on the croquis, nor are the Kadohadacho. Bureau has three tribes on his sketch, Nosennis, Nachitoché, and Kadodokico; he located them up the Red River. The *Rochet* sentence does not make sense. A line seems to have been omitted, or the words "car j'en trouve un autre Rochet a 3 lieues journees" have been added: "lieues" was first written and the copyist forgot to cross it out after writing "journees."

\* Road from the Cadodaquios to the Cenís.

† The Ommas 4 l. from the mouth of the Sablonniere.

<sup>16</sup> They were the Hama of Tonti's first account, Margry, I, 604, Gravier, gives the distance from the Huma to the Red River as three leagues, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:154.

<sup>17</sup> "This [Huma] village numbers about one hundred huts. Their language is the same as that of the Chickasaw and of the Acolapissa and of several other nations, being one of the most widespread in these parts," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:123. "There are 80 huts," in this village, wrote Gravier, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:146; after having made the round in company with Father de Limoges, the then missionary among the Huma, the Jesuit said: "I counted 70 huts in the village which I visited . . ." *ibid.*, 148.

<sup>18</sup> "There is a good league and a half from the point of disembarkation to the village of the Huma,—over a very bad road, for one has to ascend and descend, and walk half bent through the canes. The village is on the crest of a steep mountain, precipitous on all sides." Gravier's Voyage, 1700, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:146. Cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 26.

‡ The Natchez.

<sup>19</sup> The Natchez, "or as others call them the Chalaouelles," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:122v. Iberville has a variety of names akin to the one given here by Montigny, Telhoel, Techloel, Telhoël, Chelouels, Margry, IV, 121, 155, 179, 269. After his first voyage, variants of "Natchez" predominate. In other accounts the distance is given as between 20 and 25 leagues; the actual distance is about 60 miles.

<sup>20</sup> A copyist's error for 5 leagues; Tonti had given three leagues inland in his two previous accounts, Margry, I, 603; Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 301.



settlements are spread over 8 leagues of country;<sup>21</sup> admirable land. Their chiefs are looked upon as spirits and called the . . . [sic]<sup>22</sup> (Niase). [They are] fed, lodged and supported at public expense. Thirty men are killed to accompany the chiefs when these die.<sup>23</sup> They are on the right of the river.\* I can say the same thing about the land as I have said before.

From the Natchez (Natché) to the Taensas [Taensa],† 23 leagues.<sup>24</sup> They are located on a small lake. There is a portage of one league [from the Mississippi to the lake], and [then] three leagues by canoe [on the lake to their village].<sup>25</sup> They are in a flat, very beautiful and very fruitful country.<sup>26</sup> They make (more than) 400 men.<sup>27</sup> Same customs as the Natchez. But now that M. de Montigny has his mission among them, it may be hoped that these two nations will change their cult, their customs, and will despise their temples.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Tonti gave 3,000 warriors in his second account, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 301. In May, 1699, before he had gone to the Natchez, Montigny said they numbered at least 2,000 souls, ASH, 115-10:n. 13; in August after he had visited them, "This tribe is the most numerous of those that are on the banks of the Mississippi. There are 10 or 12 villages . . . very much scattered. . . . They occupy 7 or 8 leagues of country. . . . They numbered nearly 300 huts, and in each hut there are often two or three families," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:125v. "The Natchez are scattered over 8 or 9 leagues of country," wrote Le Sueur, "they make about 8 or 900 men," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:12v. "It is said that there are almost 400 of them [huts] and that they extend for eight leagues hither and yon," *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 36.

<sup>22</sup> Apparently Tonti's crabbed handwriting defied the copyist; Father Léonard made out Niase.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Thaumur de la Source, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 82; *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 27; Gravier's Voyage, 1700, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:142.

\* It is on the right side going up.

† Taensa.

<sup>24</sup> The various accounts give from 16 to 20 leagues for this distance. In his two previous memoirs, Margry, I, 602, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 300, Tonti gives the only definite latitude observed, 31°, taken by La Salle with the astrolabe; the 32nd parallel crosses the small lake north of St. Joseph, near where the Taensa had their village. Iberville also took the latitude at the Taensa village, he found 32° 47', Margry, IV, 412.

<sup>25</sup> "The Taensa village is one league from the bank of the Mississippi, on a small lake six or seven arpents wide," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13; Thaumur de la Source gives three leagues, Shea, *Early Voyages*, 82; Gravier, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:136, and Du Ru, *Journal*, 41, say the same as Tonti.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 41.

<sup>27</sup> "The Taensa are only about 700 souls," Montigny, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 76. "There are about 120 huts, making perhaps 6 or 7 hundred souls," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. "There are scarcely a hundred cabins at the Taensa and they are by no means as well filled as those of the Natchez," *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 42.

<sup>28</sup> M. de Montigny intended to take care of both tribes, Taensa and Natchez, until help came from Canada, Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13, both tribes speaking the same language, cf. *Jesuit Relations*, 65:136. The missionary left the Taensa village a few weeks after Tonti wrote his second letter, cf. *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 44 ff. Com-

From the Taensas to the Tonicas [Tunica],\* 20 leagues<sup>29</sup> to the mouth of their river, [then] eight leagues up [the Yazoo River to their village]. Together the Tonicas, the Yazoos [Yazoo], and the Coroa [Koroa] make about 400 men.<sup>30</sup> They are located in a very pleasant valley at the foot of high hills. M. Davion is their missionary.

It must be noted, (my dear brother), that there is no trading to be done with the tribes I just mentioned. They are all wretchedly poor and they hardly find fur animals to clothe themselves. These people are laborious<sup>31</sup> and it would be no trouble at all to make artisans of them and to teach them to raise silkworms in quantity.

One finds then on the left at 60 leagues, the Tonty† (Tonti) or Akansea (Akansea) [Arkansas] River,<sup>32</sup> given to me by M. de La Salle,<sup>33</sup> which I settled, and where I had a house built, there the Sieur Cavelier was led by Divine Providence and was

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pare Tonti's description of the Taensa temple in Margry, I, 601, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 299-300, with that of Montigny, in ASH, 115-10: n. 13.

\* Tonica.

<sup>29</sup> The distance between the habitat of the Taensa and the mouth of the Yazoo River is 60 miles.

<sup>30</sup> "The first [Tunica] village is four leagues inland from the Mississippi on the bank of quite a pretty river; they are dispersed in small villages; they cover in all four leagues of country; they are about 260 cabins." Thaumur de la Source, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 80. For the location of these Indians, cf. Margry, V, 401, n. 1; other details are in *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 446-447. Montigny gives 200 huts of Tunica, totaling from 12 to 15 hundred souls; 36 huts of Yazoo and Koroa, 15 huts of Houspé [Ofogoula], the three last named villages having no more than 300 souls; "to tell the truth, there are other villages farther away, where they speak like the Tunica, namely, the Tiou, the . . . [sic], and perhaps still others about whom we have no information." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. The Tiou mentioned here are the "Siou" of Tonti's letter of 1693, printed in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations, 1680-1693*, Illinois Historical Collections, XXIII, Springfield, Ill., 1934, 278.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 409.

† Riviere de Tonty ou des Akanseas.

<sup>32</sup> From the Yazoo River to the mouth of the Arkansas, the distance is 200 miles. The sketch in AN, JJ, 75-249, has no name for the Arkansas, but on Father Léonard's as well as on Bureau's croquis it is legended "Tonti R."

<sup>33</sup> This seignorial grant is not mentioned in the various accounts of the expedition of 1682; Tonti himself does not mention it in his first memoir, nor in his letter of July 23, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165-168v. This seignory is referred to by Tonti in an undated autograph signed document in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, printed in *The French Foundations*, 396. In another autograph document signed, dated November 26, 1689, printed below, Tonti is granting a tract of land to the Jesuits on condition that they send a missionary to the Arkansas post, ASQ, *Polygraphie*, XIII, n. 33. From the latter document, it seems that as early as 1686, Tonti was making land grants along the Arkansas River. Cf. Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 308, where he also speaks of his seignorial rights.

the cause of his and of his companions' salvation.<sup>34</sup> The Akancea (Akanseas) nation numbers 300 men. Twelve hundred perished by disease and war.<sup>35</sup> [From here] one begins to see many buffaloes and beavers. The Mentous [Mento] and the Paniassas (Panicassas) [Wichita] are located on this river.<sup>36</sup> I am not giving you their number or the distances, since the relations of the Indians are ordinarily false.\* The land is as it is elsewhere; quantities of peach trees, mulberry trees, plum trees and vines. They only sow wheat once a year, while those on the lower [Mississippi] sow it as many as three times a year, and the latter have the [further] advantage of having the same (fruit) trees as those [dwelling on the Arkansas].

From the Akanceas† to the Oyo [Ohio] River<sup>37</sup> called by the

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 123, 154. The house is shown on Bureau's sketch.

<sup>35</sup> "Two hundred leagues from Ouabache, the Arkansas are found, formerly a most beautiful nation. Less than ten years ago, they numbered 1,200 warriors, but wars and disease have reduced them almost to nothing, they are hardly 200 men left, and very few women and children," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. "We were deeply afflicted at finding this nation of the Acanscas, formerly so numerous, entirely destroyed by war and by disease," Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*. Cf. Thaumur de la Source in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 79; Gravier, in *Jesuit Relations*, 65:118.

<sup>36</sup> On the croquis, AN, JJ, 75-249, the names of these two tribes are given as Mentons and Panicassas, both on the north bank of a nameless [Arkansas] river. The sketch, "Partie du Mississipi et rivières adjacentes," AN, JJ, 75-245, situates the "Mentou" village five "nights" from the Osetoué [Uzutiuhl, one of the Arkansas villages], and the "Paniassa" village also five "nights" from Mentou. The Paniassa are on an affluent of the stream purporting to be the Arkansas River. The measurement of distances by "nights" puzzled Delisle. The geographer jotted down some questions he intended to ask Iberville at the first opportunity. One of these questions was "Ce que les sauvages entendent par le mot de nuit Quand ils disent par exemple il y a 2 nuits de chemin d'un lieu à l'autre et la différence d'une journée à une nuit." The explorer answered: "Quand il y a une journ. d'un lieu à l'autre les sauvages disent un jour, mais quand il faut dormir avant que d'y arriver, c'est à dire qu'il y a 2 journées ils appellent cela une nuit. Quand ils content 6 nuits, c'est la valeur de 7 journées," ASH, 115-10:n. 17, Q. Up a river the average distance made was six and one-half leagues a day; five nights would give forty leagues, 108 miles.

\* Relations of Indians false.

† Distance from the Akanseas to the Oyo Riv.

<sup>37</sup> Tonti used Ohio and Ouabache indiscriminately for the great affluent of the Mississippi. In his time and much later the course of the river from where it received the Wabash was generally called by the French "Ouabache," while the Ohio River was considered a tributary of the Wabash.

Indians Akanceasipi (Akanssa-sipy),<sup>38</sup> 240 leagues.<sup>39</sup> Going up toward this river, 90 leagues [from the Arkansas River], on the right, are hillocks, and inland, one finds a path leading to the Chicacha,\* three days journey from the [Mississippi] River.<sup>40</sup> It is there that the Englishman in question is.† Along this river are several hillocks fit for settlements, and there are appearances of iron mines. This Oyo River comes from near the Iroquois villages; it must be more than 400 leagues long;<sup>41</sup> it has

<sup>38</sup> "It is called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis the River of the Akansea, because the Akansea formerly dwelt on it. It is said to have three branches, one coming from the Northeast, which flows at the rear of the country of the Oumiamis, called the River St. Joseph, which the savages properly call Ouabachi; the second comes from the Iroquois country, and is what they call the Ohio; the third from the South-South-west, on which are the Chaouanous. As all three unite to fall into the Mississippi, the stream is commonly called Ouabachi; but the Illinois and other savages call it the River of the Akansea," Gravier's Voyage, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:107. Gravier spoke of the Ohio basin from hearsay, what he meant by the third river is not clear, the Tennessee or the Cumberland. The river on which the Shawnee dwelt was to be called later *Rivière des Anciens Chaouanons*, the Cumberland, while the Tennessee remained for awhile *Rivière des Casquinambaux*, and was afterward called *Rivière des Chéraquis*. Gravier is the only author to give the reason for calling the Ohio the river of the Akansea, cf. Shea, *Early Voyages*, 120, n. 9. This nomenclature did not obtain very long. Only one cartographer, Guillaume Delisle, legended his maps after this fashion from 1701 to 1703. The Ohio is labelled *Ouabache* near its mouth and *Oyo* near its source in AN, JJ, 75-249, while its whole course is named *Oyo Riviere* in the sketch by Father Léonard. The first time the Acansea nomenclature appears is in the Delisle basic draft, AN, JJ, 75-253, "Carte des Environs du Mississipi par G. De l'Isle Geographe"; henceforth the legends are seen in every Delisle map down to the printed one of 1703 inclusively, cf. SHB, C 4040-4, of 1701, based on the preceding chart; the map of 1702, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères; the two engraved maps with manuscript additions SHB, B 4049-32, and ASH, 140-4, the drafts of the published map of 1703. After this date, Delisle changed the nomenclature; his next published map, that of 1718, follows the Lemaire legends, compare AN, JJ, 75-234; BN, *Estampes*, Vd. 22, with SHB, C 4044-46A, and BN, Ge D 7883.

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps an error of transcription, an excess of 250 miles; Tonti had given 84 leagues in his first account and 110 in his second. M. de Montigny figures there were 230 leagues, 620 miles from the Tamaroa villages to the Arkansas, which is within a few miles of the exact distance.

\* 90 l. higher than the Acanseas is found a path leading to the Chicachas.

<sup>40</sup> The sketch AN, JJ, 75-249, has the Chickasaw near the mouth of the Ohio, so have the other two sketches, Father Léonard's and Bureau's. Cf. Tonti's first account, in Margry, I, 597, "... whose [Chickasaw] village was three days journey from there [Fort Prudhomme, near present day Memphis], in the lands along the Mississippi." Tonti's second account, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 297. The "chemin" referred to is perhaps the Wolf River, Tennessee, cf. Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 358, and the map AN, JJ, 75-253.

† The Englishman is among the Chicachas.

<sup>41</sup> Tonti had given from 500 to 600 leagues in his first account, Margry, I, 596. "It comes from the east and is more than 500 leagues in length. It is by this river that the Iroquois advance to make war against the nations of the South," Tonti's second account, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 297. "At about 600 [i.e., 60] leagues from the Tamaroa village,



only one rapid,<sup>42</sup> and a quantity of considerable affluents falling in it.

At one and a half days journey on the right [of the Ohio], one finds the island of Kaskinampo\* (Koskinempo) [Kakinonpa].<sup>43</sup> At its [river's] source which is at 12 days journey, there is a mountain range,<sup>44</sup> whence springs a river<sup>45</sup> going to Carolina, and which the English ascend in boats. From this mountain range, they bring, on pack horses, merchandise to that Englishman (who is among the Chicachas).<sup>46</sup> I learned this from the

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one find the same side [east bank of the Mississippi] a great river named Ouabache, but called Oio by the Iroquois. It nearly reaches the Sonontouans [Seneca], an Iroquois village. One goes by it to the Chaouenons [Shawnee] and to the Chicachas [Chickasaw] nations near the English of Carolina," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. Delisle wrote in the margin of his copy of this letter: "On va par Ouabache aux Chaouanons et aux Chicachas," meaning that Carolina could be reached by the affluents of the Ohio, the Tennessee and the Cumberland. The Ohio "is said to be 500 leagues in length and to take its source near the Sonontouans," Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 357. "They [Iroquois] often come on the Ouabache river, which they call Ojo; one of its arms comes from above the Sonontouans," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121v.

<sup>42</sup> Near Louisville, Kentucky, there is a drop of 27 feet over a course of 2½ miles.

\* Perhaps that of Kaskinampo. It is likely that it is a source of the [River] of Kaskinampo.

<sup>43</sup> The tributary near the mouth of the "Ouabache" is legended "Casquinampo R."; on it the "Casquinempo" Indians are dwelling, according to the AN, JJ, 74-249, sketch. These Indians, very prominent in the accounts of French travelers of the beginning of the eighteenth century, have not as yet been identified with certainty by ethnologists. French adventurers journeying overland from the Mississippi or the Illinois country to Carolina bear out what Tonti is here saying with regard to their location on an "island." Cf. Sauvolle's narrative of 1700-1701, AC, C 13A, 1:319-320, printed in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1701-1729, French Dominion*, Jackson, Miss., 1929, II, 14-15, and the notes of Delisle in ASH, 115-10:n. 17, X. Delisle wondered whether the Casquinambaux might not be the Casquins of de Soto, ASH, 115-10:n. 17. In Franquelin: "Carte Generale de la Nouvelle France . . .," BSH, C 4044-10, reproduced in Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes et de Globes . . .*, Atlas, Paris, 1890, plate 40, the legend has: "I. des Tchalaqué ou des Casquinempo"; the "Tchalaqué" were the "Chalague" of the Soto identified as the Cherokee. The name, spelled in a variety of manners, often appears on maps. The Kakinonba of Marquette's autograph is supposed to stand for these Indians. The information contained in Sauvolle's narrative is expressed cartographically in all the Delisle maps until that of 1718, AN, JJ, 75-234. Legends not on this map found their way on that printed by French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana, part II*, 1850. The distances given by Tonti in his letter are greatly underestimated.

<sup>44</sup> The Apalachian range.

<sup>45</sup> The Savannah River?

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Iberville's letter, February 26, 1700, Margry, IV, 362. The English from their headquarters among the Chickasaw were doing a thriving business with the Mississippi tribes: "Tous les sauvages de ces quartiers ci scavoir Tonicas, Tahensas, Natchez et autres ont des marchandises qui viennent des Anglois, fuzils, capots, rassades, etc.," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115:n. 13.

Chaouanons (Chauanons) [Shawnee] who were settled with me in the Illinois country.

From the mouth of the Oyo to the Falls of St. Anthony, the river is banked by hillocks, there are stones, woods, [word illegible] abounding in all kinds of cattle. From its [Ohio] mouth to the Saline [Saline Creek, St. Genevieve County, Mo.], there are 50 leagues. It is a spring where we were making (make) salt. There are lead mines on the right [of Saline Creek].

From the Saline to the Tamarois (Tamarou) [Tamaroa],<sup>47</sup> 30 leagues. It is a village of 400 Illinois Indians.<sup>48</sup> M. de Saint-Cosme is their missionary.

From the Tamarois (Tamarou) to the River of the Ozages [Missouri], 6 leagues, on the left. This is a considerable river both from its length and its width.\* It rises, say the Indians, 300 leagues away.<sup>49</sup> [On its banks] there are the Ozages [Osage] who make 300 huts [located at] 15 days journey in canoe [from the mouth of the Missouri]; from there to the Cansa [Kansa] 3 days journey; there are 300 huts. From these to the Panissas (Panimana) [Skidi], [3 or 5 or 7, not clear] days journey, 600 huts; farther are the Paniboucha (Parabougea) [Pawnee?]<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> The distance between the Ohio and the Missouri, 86 leagues, is forced; M. de Montigny gives the same number, the fifteen hundred leagues between the Tamaroa village and the Saline is evidently a slip, [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121v. The Tamaroa village is not indicated on AN, JJ, 75-245; it is located on the left bank of the Mississippi by Father Léonard and by Bureau.

<sup>48</sup> Tonti has 180 huts for this village in his first account, Margry, I, 596. "There are as many people at the Tamarois as at Kebecq. . . . It is the largest village that we have seen. There are about 300 cabins there." Thaumur de la Source in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 84. Cf. Montigny's letter of March 3, 1699, AN, K 1374:n. 82. On May 6, 1699, the missionary wrote: "The Tamarouais and the Kaokias . . . make about 600 men . . . but since our arrival the Mitchigamea and the Missouris having joined them, they make [now] at least 8,000 souls." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13.

\* The Riv. of the Ozages is 300 l. in length.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Tonti's first account, Margry, I, 595.

<sup>50</sup> "It is reported that there are great numbers of savages on the upper part of that river," Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 355. "The great Missouri River upon which are several nations where no missionary has ever been. There are found the Missouris, the Osages and the Canis." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. The names of these tribes—spelled as between parentheses in the text, that is, as in Father Léonard's copy—are found on the sketch AN, JJ, 75-249. The detailed information concerning the distances and the population of these Indian villages is found on another Delisle sketch, "Partie du Mississippi et rivières adjacentes," AN, JJ, 75-245, with the difference that the distances are given in "nights" instead of in days. Cf. "Cours des Riv. d'Ouabache et Missouri envoyé par le R. P. Marest Jesuite a M. d'Iberville le 10 Juill. 1700," *Ibid.*, pièce 265. Delisle transferred the geographical information of these two outlines on the first draft of his 1701 map, AN, JJ, 75-253; he repeated the data with further additions in his subsequent maps until 1703. The misreading Panissas for Panimaha seems to have led

who are in greater number.<sup>51</sup> I don't know whether it is not the last nation that forced the Spaniards to abandon several considerable mines. At the end of this river which comes from the West, there is a mountain range<sup>52</sup> whence rivers flow, and to my mind, go down to California. Along this river and inland are several nations, such as the Baotets [Iowa?],<sup>53</sup> Ototenta (Otosenta) [Oto], Emissourita [Missouri], Ajooija (Ajuoya) [Iowa]<sup>54</sup> where the buffaloes which are found everywhere in Louisiana come from.<sup>55</sup> The Indians have no other fuel than (the dung) of these animals.

From the mouth of this river, there are six leagues to that of the Illinois—this river comes from the east and measures 200 leagues.<sup>56</sup> The Miami are situated toward its headwaters on another river [the St. Joseph River, Michigan], which falls in Lake Michigan. There are at least 800 men settled at Fort Saint Louis,<sup>57</sup> 70 leagues\* from the Mississippi,<sup>58</sup> and three Jesuit missionaries.<sup>59</sup>

From the mouth of this river to Quionisagoy (Quinitagoy) [Des Moines?], 60 leagues. It is a river where the Illinois formerly dwelt, [i. e.,] on the left of Quionisagoy (Quinitagoy).<sup>60</sup>

the geographer to double this tribe; he located the Paniassas on an affluent of the Arkansas River and on a tributary of the Missouri, keeping, however, the Panimaha on the main Missouri stream.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. M. Mott, "The Relation of Historic Indian Tribes to Archeological Manifestations in Iowa," in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXXVI, 1938, 279.

<sup>52</sup> The Rocky Mountains?

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Mott, *loc. cit.*, 234, 306.

<sup>54</sup> None of these tribes, except the Ototenta (Otosenta) are on the outline maps previously referred to, but they are all on Bureau's sketch. This draughtsman scattered them between the *Riviere des Osages* and the *Puinitagoy R.*, locating the Emissourita farthest west.

<sup>55</sup> The buffalo country is said to be in the vicinity of the Panibougea in AN, JJ, 75-245; the information is repeated in AN, JJ, 75-253, Delisle's basic draft of his maps until 1703.

<sup>56</sup> The sentence after the dash is not in Father Léonard's copy.

\* Fort St. Louis, Illinois, is 70 l. from Mississippi.

<sup>57</sup> Tonti is speaking of the new Fort Saint Louis, on Peoria Lake, twenty-five leagues downstream from Starved Rock; Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 350; the migration took place in 1691-1692, cf. the "De Gannes Memoir," in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 327, and Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country*, 23. Bureau located a "Fort Louis" about 100 miles north of the Wisconsin.

<sup>58</sup> "The [Illinois] river runs 100 leagues from Fort St. Louis [here Starved Rock], to where it falls into the Mississippi," Tonti's second account, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 302. M. de Montigny also gives 70 leagues, in ASH, 115-10:n. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Father Léonard could not make out whether there were three or five Jesuits at Fort Saint Louis. He wrote "Ou sont 5/3 jesuites missionnaires." The three Jesuits were Fathers Gravier, G. Marest, and Bineteau, Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country*, 23-26.

<sup>60</sup> Tonti probably had Moingouena, unless the Quionisagoy, Quinitagoy, Puionitagoy of Father Léonard's sketch, Puinitagoy of Bureau's, is one

On the right [of the Mississippi going up] is Ouisconsin (Ouisconsin) [Wisconsin], 240 leagues. There are even plains 30 leagues further [inland?]. The Outagamis [Foxes] are located on this river. Thence to the Falls of St. Anthony, 150 leagues.<sup>61</sup> On the right are the Bon secours [Chippewa?] and Noire [Black] rivers; on the left that of St. Pierre [Minnesota], which the French have ascended more than 200 leagues.\*

The great Scious (Souys) [Sioux] nation is scattered above the said Falls, and the Indians have no knowledge of the source of the Mississippi River, although there are Sious (people) who came down on it from 30 (20) days above the Falls, making more than 25 leagues a day.<sup>62</sup>

Here then, my dear brother, is truly the real state of this country. Speak boldly on this subject; the sooner the better, lest others hand in memoirs before you do. I am almost sure that no memoirs are being sent by the ships commanded by M. de Surgères.

I do not know how Father Louis Hennepin had the boldness to lie so impudently in his relation. He was insupportable to the late M. de La Salle and all of M. de La Salle's men. He sent him to the Sious as to get rid of him. He was taken [prisoner] on the way by these Indians with Michel Aco [Accault] and Pierre Dugué [Auguelle]. Afterwards the three of them were freed from servitude by M. Dulude [Duluth], who was passing through that country, and brought back by him to Canada. How can a man have the front to write that he went down to the sea?

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of the names of the Iowa, cf. Miss Mott's discussion, *loc. cit.*, 264-265. If Tonti meant the Des Moines River, the distance is only slightly forced.

<sup>61</sup> There is no record that Tonti explored the Upper Mississippi; he is speaking from hearsay; his distances are forced. Although he means 240 leagues from the mouth of the Illinois to the Wisconsin, it is still 200 miles more than the actual distance, and the mileage between Prairie du Chien and St. Paul is nearly doubled. One year earlier M. de Montigny had written: "From [the mouth of] the Illinois River to the fort which the French have in the Sioux country, they count 300 leagues, and from the fort of the French to the old Sioux Country, where Reverend Father Louis [Hennepin], Recollect, went several [eighteen] years ago, they count 200 leagues." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. On the sketch maps made on Tonti's letter, neither that of Father Léonard nor that of the Delisle show anything north of the Wisconsin. Bureau as said above placed a "Fort Louis" north of the *Ouesconsin*, and located the *Outagamys* on this river.

\* St. Pierre Riv. ascended by the French more than 200 l. (It's where the copper mines are.)

<sup>62</sup> Either a patent exaggeration or a blunder of the copyists. If we were to take the smaller distance, that given in Father Léonard's copy, 500 leagues in a northwestern direction, the headwaters of the Mississippi would be in central Alberta; if the distance of Delisle's copy were taken, the source of the Mississippi, in the same direction would be in southwestern Yukon; in a western direction, several hundred miles in the Pacific.



Aco who is married in the Illinois country and who is still alive is able to prove the contrary to him.<sup>63</sup> I think Pierre Dugué is in France. It is said that there are many falsehoods in my relation. I haven't seen it [yet].<sup>64</sup> It is a cause of sorrow to me. I am sorry the memoirs I sent were not followed.

One must hold that the Mississippi River runs from the Illinois country which lies by the 40 degrees down to the Ommas (Oumas) South-south-west, and from the Ommas (Oumas) to the sea South-south-east and South-south-west. Its great windings make it very difficult to take the rhumbs,<sup>65</sup> and as one goes down in haste, one hardly stops to make observations.

I do not know whether this will reach you any more than another letter which I wrote you last month, which I addressed to the Rev. Father Superior of the Theatines, in which are [enclosed] two letters of M. de Montigny, one of Rev. Father Briset,<sup>66</sup> formerly Superior of the Jesuits, one of M. the Bishop of Quebec. Both the former [Laval] and the new [Saint-Vallier] are to write to the Court. Hence see M. Tremblay, treasurer of the Foreign Missions, M. Tiberge and M. de Brisacier,<sup>67</sup> employ them on my behalf; my Lords [the bishops] are writing to them as well as M. de Montigny their vicar-general.

All the voyages I made for the success of this country have ruined me. I hope the Court will take it in consideration having given satisfaction. Even if you do not obtain what I am asking, if troops are sent to this country as M. d'Iberville tells me they will, at least, secure a company for me.

### III

Following are two Tonti autograph documents signed (as referred to above p. 216, n. 8, and p. 228, n. 33). By the first Tonti granted the Jesuits two tracts of land on the Arkansas River,

<sup>63</sup> Cf. MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 39.

<sup>64</sup> That is, the *Dernieres decouvertes*, cf. *supra*, p. 219, n. 18. These few words speak volumes.

<sup>65</sup> The capricious windings of the Mississippi were a trial for the early explorers. "October 18, [1700], in three hour's traveling we have gone around the compass," Gravier in *Jesuit Relations*, 65:110. The turns, the bends, and the loops of the river were one of the reasons why such a variety of distances is found in the early relations of travelers. Le Sueur was the first to plot the course of the Mississippi in a scientific fashion; Delisle translated the information cartographically in AN, JJ, 75-248, and in ASH, 138bis-3-2.

<sup>66</sup> Briset probably stands for Bruyas, whose term as Superior General of the Jesuit missions in New France ended August 25, 1698.

<sup>67</sup> MM. Jacques-Charles de Brasacier and Louis Tiberge were priests, alternative superiors of the Missions Etrangères Clergymen, cf. *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, II, 359.

near his house. It is dated November 26, 1689. The second document is a letter to Saint-Vallier, dated Michilimackinac, July 14, 1699. The editor takes this opportunity to thank Mgr. Amédée Gosselin who kindly sent photostats of the two documents.



Dans Les dessein que nous auons defaire Instruire des misteres de nostre Saincte Religion Le Sauvages qui Sont Sur nostre Riviere des akanzea et Leur procurer La Connoissance et L'amour de nostre Sauueur Jesus Crist et Sçachant avec Combien de zele Les Peres de La Compagnie de Jesus semployent a L'instruction et a La Conuersion des Sauvages nous auons prie Le Reuerend pere dablon Superieur de toutes Les missions de Ladit Compagnie de Jesus dans La nouvelle france de nous donner un Missionnaire pour nostre Riuier des akanzea au quel nous Concedons et accordons Selon le pouuoir que nous en auons fondé Sur La Concession que Monsieur Caelier de la Salle nous a faict de La dit Riuier de Akanzea en alant a la decouuert de La mere du mexique, sur la prise de possession que nous en auons faict y ayant faict battir Maison et Fort y ayant establi dix abitans Comme il conste par des Conuentions faict avec eux et entre eux en Lannee 1686: nous accordons audit Reuerend pere dablon Supperieur des missions de la Compagnye de Jesus selon nostre pouuoir Si bien fondé et dont nous alons demander le Confirmation en Cour pour le missionair de nostre Riuier de Akanzea deux arpent de front et quatre de profondeur pour une chapelle et maison que nous Luy feront battir a ving arpent de nostre fort a L'est — avec droit de bois de Chauffage desquarir pour charpante et pour palisade de Sa maison et iardin et nous pouruoirons a Sa Subsistance pendant Les trois premier anné de Sa mission Commensan le premier nouembre mil six Cens quatreuing dix ou Cens quatreuing onze en Cas que la guere enpeshase La Communication qui est nesesaie pour obtenir un missionnaire la dit anne 1690 en outre nous luy accordons quarent et deux arpent de front et quatre ving en profondeur alautre bord de la dit Riuier au Sus avec droit de Chasse et de pesche la ditte [verso] Ladit Consession Commensant a quinze arpent du village des Akanzea prenant de L'est a L'oest a L'est du dit village pour la plus grande Commodité du missionnaire ou nous luy feront pariellement battir une Chapelle et maison a Condition quil nous prestera L'homme qui luy appartiendra pour y traualier, quil fera eriger une Croix de qunze pied de haut quil y fera Semer blé et legumes quil y fera residence au moin les hyver des trois premier années lesquels expire il y fera residence

annuelle sil nest oblige de Sen absenter par maladie ou pour estre rappelé pour quelque temp de Ses Supperieur ou pour quelque autre empeschement que on ne peut preuoir, outre Ce il prestera le Secour spirituel a tous les francois lorquil en Sera requis et nous laisons a Sa liberté de venir dire la Messe dans le quartier des francois proche de nostre fort de deux dimanche l'un et de dire tous les ans une Messe a nostre intantion le iour de St Henry [July 15] afin quil plaise a Dieu nous Conduir au port du Salut, nayant desin dimposer auCune Condition onereuse au dit pere Missionnaire et quil puisse tant soit peut blesser Leurs institut Cest ainsy que nous accordons et Ratifions la dite Consession et permettons de la faire notairisait a la premier occasion et promettons de la faire en registrait au greffe si il est nessesair faict au fort Sainct Louis dans la loisianne ce uing sixiesme nouembre mil six cens quattreuing neuf henry de Tonti

[Endorsed:] Concession des Akansea par Mr. de Tonti

De Missilimaquina le 14<sup>m</sup> Iuillet 1699

Monsieigneur

Ie me suis donne lhonneur descrire a vostre grandeur par Les gens que Mon<sup>r</sup> de montigny a faict dessendre ver vous et comme depuis ma dernier Il est Suruenu quelque [*verso*] defiguté entre mon<sup>r</sup> de montigny et Les R<sup>ds</sup> P<sup>rs</sup> Iesuitte touchant la mistion des tamaroa ie Crue estre obligé dinformer Vostre grandeur de Se qui set passé non pas de la dispute quil on eus mais de leurs de part Mon<sup>r</sup> de montigny parti le 6<sup>me</sup> may et le R<sup>d</sup> P<sup>r</sup> Bintau le 8 pour aller sestablir au tamaroa iusqua nouuel ordre lequel de campera ou de luy ou de Mon<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Cosme qui y estoit basty les R<sup>ds</sup> Peres Iesuitte pretendant que set leur Mission Se qui fera un tres meschant effect alesgar des Sauuages qui saue for bien profiter quand ils sapersoieue de la deshunions quil [*recto*] ya entre les françois. Ie ne doute pas que mon<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Cosme ne soit Surprit a Sa uenue ne Si attendant pas et il Seroit a Souaité que Mon<sup>r</sup> de montigny se trouua au tamaroa quand le R<sup>d</sup> P<sup>r</sup> y arriua Sela passifiroit bien toute chose, comme vous neste peustestre pas Monseigneur informé ce que Ses cette nationt Sela ma faict mestre la maint ala plume pour vous en Informer, les tamaroa Sont illinois de nationt ausibien que le Caoquia dont party est estably auec eux et lautre party au fort S<sup>t</sup> Louis il sont situe Sur missisipy a douce lieu audessous de la Riuier des illinois Sur La droite [*deleted*] gauche en desandant a nonnante lieu du fort S<sup>t</sup> Louis depuis que Ie suis au dit fort [*verso*] Ie faict mon possible pour les attirer chenous Sans que ie nenestpeu venir about

ils se detache souuent des Cabanne qui y viennent et les R<sup>ds</sup> P<sup>rs</sup> profit de Se temp la pour les intruire et batisser leurs enfans deuan quils sen retourn che eux il non pas enCorre eu de Missionnaire estably [dans] leur village le R<sup>d</sup> P<sup>r</sup> marquet y passa comme voyageur le R<sup>d</sup> P<sup>r</sup> graurier y a este et fut obligé de se retirer parceque cette nations auoit escoute de mauuais discour qui venoit des Sauuage de nostre fort peut sen falut quil ny fut tué cela arriva pendant que Iestoit au nort lhyver passe [*recto*] le R<sup>d</sup> P<sup>r</sup> Bintau qui nous suiuit trouua un village de Chasse de Caoquia a lenboucher de la R<sup>r</sup> des illinois ou il fit mission et ensuite remonta la R<sup>r</sup> pour reuenir retrouver les illinois voilla Monseigneur au vray ce que les R<sup>ds</sup> P<sup>rs</sup> ont faict a lesgar de cette nations quand nous desendions le missipy nous trouuasme les Caoquia et tamaroa lesquelles tesmoignerent une grande envie dauoir une Robbe noir pour les intruire ie leurs fit tellement valoir ceux que iauoit lhonneur daccompagner [*verso*] et lorsque Ie remontay ausy que quand Mon<sup>r</sup> de montigny et S<sup>t</sup> Cosme son remonté ils ont demandé quun des deu restasse avec eux pour les instruire et mon<sup>r</sup> de montigny leurs ayent accorde Mon<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Cosme il en ont eu une ioy extremes et il est a soitte pour la gloir de Dieu que les deux Missionair puis saccorder le R<sup>d</sup> P<sup>r</sup> graurier Sur Ses nouuelle a quitté michilimaquina pour aller en Ses Cartier la et ie ne doute pas quil ne taille de la besogne a Mon<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Cosme iusqua ce que vostre [*recto*] grandeur est desidé en faueur de lun ou delautre a lesgard de la missions des illinois dieu la comble de Ses benedictions et va toujours en ocmantent pour Sa gloir et Sest lunique disy hau des Sauvages arrivé isy du mon real nous assure que Monsieur le Conte [de Frontenac] est mort et que Monsieur de Callier est a sa place Comme les Sauvages desbitte ordinairement des menterie et que lon ne peut faire aucun fon sur cequil disse lappreantion que Iay eu de faire une beueu ma faict prendre la resolution de nescrire aux puissance qua vostre grandeur iusqua ceque nous ayons receu des lestre ayent cru estre obligé de vous informer de ce qui est si desus mentioné Ses pourquoy Ie prend la liberte Monseigneur de vous prier de ne pas fair connoistre que ie me Suis donne Lhonneur de vous escrite, de me faire la grace de me continuer vostre protection et de me croire avec toutes les respectueusse sousmission Monseigneur

De Vostre grandeur

vostres humble et tres  
obeisant Serviteur  
h Tonti



## Notes and Comment

### JEREMIAH CURTIN

Readers of 'Quo Vadis' and of other novels written by the Polish Catholic writer Henryk Sienkiewicz may recall that the translator's name was Curtin. Jeremiah Curtin, who was an American Catholic scholar of wide attainments, is usually stated in works of reference to have been a native of the town of Greenfield near Milwaukee and to have been born in 1838 or 1840. He attended Harvard College, was sent as secretary of legation to St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, Russia, where he learned Russian, Polish, and other Slavic languages. Later, through extensive travel and private study he was able to speak no less than seventy languages, two more than the famous linguist Cardinal Mezzofanti. Before he died he wrote his *Memoirs*, the manuscript of which, brought to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1938, is soon to be printed by the Society. Inspection of the manuscript has brought to light a passage, now nearly obliterated—evidently by design but for some obscure reason—in which can be read, following a reference to Detroit, the words: "In that city I was born. Soon after my birth father moved to Milwaukee, then a frontier town." Later he speaks of a first glimmering recollection of a house which he says "was in Greenfield, Wisconsin, on a farm." What are the facts of his place and date of birth? Joseph Schafer, secretary of the Society, has in a recent issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (March, 1939) recorded the outcome of a line of research to settle these questions.

A photostat copy of Curtin's baptismal record, obtained from the church of the Most Holy Trinity, Detroit, Michigan, revealed that Jeremiah was born on September 6 and baptized on September 17, 1835. The census record of the Milwaukee district, taken in 1850, states that "J. W." Curtin, then 14, was born in Michigan; but the census was taken in June, before he had completed his fifteenth year. In a letter of December 7, 1864, Curtin gives Detroit as his place of birth. Mr. Schafer deems it extremely improbable that in the year 1835 a child and its mother could have traveled from near Milwaukee to distant Detroit within eleven days of the child's birth. Whence came the erroneous data? Mr. Schafer answers this in excellent fashion.

Curtin translated, besides the works of Sienkiewicz, Tolstoi, and Zagoskin, folk tales of many lands; and he wrote a number of books on the folklore of Russia, of Ireland, the Mongols, and the North American Indians. He was connected with the Smithsonian Institution at Washington for several years. He died at Bristol, Vermont, De-

cember 14, 1906, not at Burlington, as usually stated. The stone house at Hales Corners in Milwaukee County, pointed out as his birthplace, is thought by Schafer to have been built not earlier than 1850. While it was doubtless his abode as a youth, a log house was the home of the family while Jeremiah was a child.

W. S. M.

### JESUIT PLANTATIONS

Francis P. Burns writes on "The Graviars and the Faubourg Ste. Marie," New Orleans, in the April, 1939 number of *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*. He traces the ownership of the Jesuit plantations along the River front after the Society was declared suppressed by France in 1763. The owner particularly described is Jean Gravier, who died impoverished after having had untold wealth. Legal aspects are well treated, but one of the introductory statements calls for comment, even though it has little to do with the main portion of the article. "In the year 1763, for reasons which have never been quite satisfactorily explained in any of the standard histories of Louisiana, the Order of Jesuits was expelled from the Province of Louisiana by the King of France, and their lands in Louisiana were forfeited to the Crown" (p. 386). A number of historians have avoided the issue of the suppression with similar statements, because the subject is too vast and because the reasons given by European officials contain for the objective historian suspect elements. The reasons nevertheless can be found from the official side, while on the Jesuit side they have been amply exposed, especially as regards Louisiana. In this case it would have been quite an aid to the reader had Mr. Burns utilized the findings of Father Delanglez, which have been published since 1935, and in New Orleans, as *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763*. In view of the archival materials cited in this work, "standard histories" as well as the citations from the older accounts of Father J. J. O'Brien and *Catholic Encyclopedia* could have been dispensed with. Numerous sources have become available, as is clear from the well documented *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, especially the last chapter on the suppression. One may not just overlook this scholarly work, which is an indispensable guide to pertinent documents on Louisiana history.

### NEW MAGAZINES

Several newcomers have recently been welcomed to the ranks of notable periodicals. *The Journal of Mississippi History* appeared for the first time in January, 1939, published by the Mississippi Historical Society. In February, the Southern Political Science Association came forth with the first number of *The Journal of Politics*. *The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations* dates its origin to January, 1939. The purpose and scope of each of the three is amply set forth in the

first issues. In the last named the scope is widest since its papers pertain to political, social, economic, and cultural relations of the United States with Canada and the Latin American Republics.

#### VARIOUS ARTICLES

*The Catholic Historical Review*, April, 1939, publishes three more of the papers read at the last meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association. The papers are: "The Jesuit Epic in Mid-America," by Most Reverend Joseph H. Schlarman, Bishop of Peoria, "The Social and Religious Life of the Gildsman of Toulouse," by Sister Mary Ambrose, B. V. M., and "The Rise of Secularism," by Raymond Corrigan, S. J. The consistent policy of the *Review* is thus to publish papers read in convention. Undoubtedly, great benefits to history would follow if the other historical associations followed a similar course and published what is read at their meetings. Lack of funds is one great drawback to publication of notable short works of scholars, which as a result reach the very limited number able to attend the reading. Steps toward salvaging some of the ideas at least have been taken in the April, 1939 number of *The American Historical Review*, wherein may be found a very fine summary of the proceedings at each of the sessions of last December's Chicago meeting. Publication of all papers would assure, where it might be lacking, caution and more careful research. And we are certain that several statements made in papers, or in digressions from them, or in discussions following them, would not have been made if their authors knew they would one day come into print.

The *Report 1937-1938* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association contains "Some Non-Catholic Contributions to the Study of the Canadian American Missions," by Thomas F. O'Connor, in which the writer notes the encouragement to explore the Catholic past, given by such historians and librarians as Wilberforce Eames, Victor H. Palsits, Frederick Saunders, John Nicholas Brown, Winship, Thwaites, Winsor, Parkman, Rt. Rev. William Ingram Kip, Rev. Charles Hawley, Rev. William M. Beauchamp, and James Lenox. Other interesting articles appear in the English section. In the French section is a study of "Le Diocèse de Québec," by l'abbé Ivanhoë Caron, explaining the divisions and subdivisions of the vast diocese from 1674 to 1884. This is followed by a very serviceable table of the dioceses as established in Canada and the United States.

*The Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1939, has among its articles three of more than local interest. C. T. Currelly describes the "Viking Weapons Found Near Beardmore, Ontario," and concludes that "a Viking was buried near Lake Nipigon," after he had come to the region possibly by way of Hudson Bay, James Bay, and one or other river toward Lake Superior. W. S. Wallace, librarian of the

University of Toronto describes "The Literature Relating to the Norse Voyages to America." Max Savelle, of Stanford University, summarizes the "Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Seven Years' War in America," with emphasis on the European diplomacy as it affected the American, and especially the Acadian question.

In *The Journal of Southern History*, May, 1939, Professor William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University pays just tribute to Walter Lynwood Fleming. The article, "The Contribution of Walter Lynwood Fleming to Southern Scholarship," tells of the decided influence exerted by the Alabama historian as educator, administrator, adviser, and scholar.

The paper of Percy Alva Martin, "Artigas, the Founder of Uruguayan Nationality," which was read several years ago at the Toronto meeting of the American Historical Association, is published in the February, 1939, number of *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. With its publication the editorial board announces regretfully the close of Dr. Martin's six year editorial term, and welcomes Dr. J. Fred Rippy to the vacancy.

*The Colorado Magazine*, published bi-monthly by the State Historical Society of Colorado, contains the document, "Journal of the Vargas Expedition into Colorado, 1694," edited in translation by Dr. J. Manuel Espinosa (May, 1939). With this expedition went Franciscan missionaries. The conclusion is that these were the first Catholic priests on Colorado soil, so far as recorded evidence goes. Father Garraghan in discussing this point of the first priest there indicates the difficulty of proving by documents that Fray Padilla or Fray de Perea of the 1541 and 1604 expeditions were actually in Colorado (*MID-AMERICA*, April, 1939, 116). Father Garraghan has 1706 as the date for the first recorded entrance of a priest; Dr. Espinosa now moves the date back eight years.

*The Romantic Review*, December, 1938, has "Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies: A Current Bibliography," by Donald F. Bond. This is a list of "the most significant books and articles of 1937 which deal with Anglo-French and Franco-American literary history, from the sixteenth century to the present." It is a noteworthy beginning of a series of surveys to be published by its author and collaborators each year.

Doctor Louis C. Boisliniere, Jr., published an interesting paper, "Historical Sketch of the First Medical Department of St. Louis University, 1835-1856," in the *Washington University Medical Alumni Quarterly*, October, 1938, and January, 1939.



## BOOKS

It is a source of great happiness to historians and their students to read the announcement from D. Appleton-Century of the publication of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton's *Wider Horizons of American History*. Four magnificent essays of the eminent scholar are brought together in one volume: "The Epic of Greater America," "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," and "The Black Robes of New Spain." Each is the product of a long period of study and thought; each is a summary of many research papers and books, and at the same time is a guide to more research. They are refreshing and stimulating to the writer of history, illuminating to the general reader, and indispensable to the bibliographies for graduate and undergraduate students.

*Latin America, A Brief History*, by F. A. Kirkpatrick, emeritus reader in Spanish in the University of Cambridge, has recently been published by Macmillan. Written in excellent style it is a welcome addition to the list of textbooks in the field for its readability, viewpoints, and optimism.

The twenty-eighth volume of *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library under the general editorship of Dr. Theodore C. Pease has recently come from the press. It is Volume III of the Law Series, and the first volume of two pertaining to laws of the Illinois Territory. It will be cited as *Pope's Digest 1815*, Volume I, edited with an introduction by Francis S. Philbrick, professor of law, University of Pennsylvania. Professor Philbrick's special introduction is of sixty-five carefully annotated pages, which give an exceedingly useful background study of the life of Nathaniel Pope and the development and revisions of the Illinois Territory statutes. This is followed by the edition of *Laws of the Territory of Illinois, Revised and Digested under the Authority of the Legislature*, by Nathaniel Pope.

A reprinting has recently been made of *From Many Centuries*, by Francis S. Betten, S. J. This book containing nineteen historical essays has proved of great value to teachers of history, since the chapters amplify and throw light on many phases and periods not found in detail in textbooks.

Edward G. Cox last year published the second volume of *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel, including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions*. The list of titles, arranged chronologically, pertains to the two Americas, and is an important bibliographical contribution.

The Commission royale d'histoire of Brussels sponsored the publication of the letters of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J., famous

missionary in Peking, China, during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The letters printed in 591 pages were collected by Father Henri Bosmans before his death and published by Fathers Josson and Willaert under the title *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1623-1688, directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin*.

#### IN MEMORIAM

Historians miss the kindly smile, the encouraging word, the scholarly guidance, of James Alexander Robertson, who passed to his rest full of years in the beginning of 1939.

*Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* suffered a great loss when Father A. Frías, S. J., died in early February. Another Jesuit historian, Father Z. García Villada, was killed in Madrid during the civil war by radicals.

## Book Reviews

*A General History of the United States since 1865.* By George Frederick Howe, Ph. D. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xxvii+654.

As the title indicates, this volume is substantially a textbook on the college level, covering the period since the end of the Civil War. Its thirty-one chapters are arranged in seven parts, designated as follows: Reconstruction; moving toward world power; becoming an empire; drive for social justice; United States and the Great War; the irresponsible twenties; the sobering thirties. Those titles in turn indicate that a more or less orthodox division was followed in arranging the material.

A commendable feature of this volume is its incorporation of sixty-three illustrative documents, bringing source material directly and rather painlessly to the reader. For example, at the end of the chapter on "Money and Monopoly," we find set forth in their entirety, the interstate commerce commission act, the anti-trust act of 1890, and Cleveland's message recommending repeal of the Sherman silver purchase act of 1890.

Another good feature of the book is its freedom from false patriotism. The chapter dealing with the War of 1898 places McKinley in a rather sorry light, and accords no praise to Congress for its unwarranted and hasty action. An effort is made to give proper prominence to all factors responsible in our national development. The economic factors, for example, are not so stressed as to make insignificant all other influences. The section dealing with the immediate past and the painful present seems to indicate a preference on the part of the author for the methods of Hoover, rather than for those of Roosevelt. The questioning, if not the pessimistic attitude of the author, is reflected in his concluding sentence, "American democracy seemed to be dependent upon a race between education and catastrophe." A good index, and an abundance of supplementary readings, well chosen, increase the merits of this well prepared volume on recent American history.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

*The Sun at Noon.* By Kenneth B. Murdock. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. 327.

This readable book is comprised of biographical sketches of three personages of some consequence in seventeenth-century England, all of whom, in the author's concept, spent their lives in warfare for a

common goal—to find the ultimate truth, termed “the sun at noon.”

The initial sketch of Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, is regrettably brief, especially so since she stands forth as easily the noblest character of the three. As the outcome of her search for the ultimate truth, she split with her husband and her family and sacrificed everything to which she had been accustomed in order to enter the Roman Catholic Church and finish her days with peace of conscience. Because of her interesting and significant life, as well as for her courage and culture, she deserves a much fuller and somewhat more sympathetic treatment than is here accorded her.

By far the greater portion of the book is devoted to her son, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, who attacked the problem of ultimate truth by making of himself a scholar whose studies, disputations, and convictions resulted in his enslavement to reason as the only thing infallible. Throughout the book Professor Murdock expands upon the dilemma involved in the conflict between faith and reason, or faith and authority, and through his comments he seems to display a certain satisfaction over Falkland's rejection of faith, revelation, infallibility, etc., though he sees, where Falkland refused to, the dangers inherent in enthroning reason and “one's own private sense” as the final test in all matters. He seems not to realize, however, that had Cary been less one-sided and had he acquired his mother's breadth of vision he would not have suffered the sense of futility and helplessness which was his for some time before his early death in 1643.

The final sketch is brief and concerns John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, profligate of profligates, whose only yardstick was the sensual, and who in his last disease-ridden days was brought to repentance and faith of a sort. From the author's presentation of the life of this utter rake, it is entirely difficult to believe that Rochester spent his life in warfare for “the sun at noon.” Indeed, he seems little different from countless others whose worthless lives are ended by a death-bed repentance. The volume would not suffer through the omission of this third sketch.

The book contains some valuable notes on authorities consulted in its preparation, and there is a very serviceable index.

WALTER M. LANGFORD

University of Notre Dame

*Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1937-1938.* By Pierre-George Roy, Quebec, 1938. Pp. (ii)+383.

The contents of this annual report, less bulky than the two preceding ones, are more diversified. The first pages are taken up with a brief relation of the siege of Quebec, 1759. The text is better than that published eighty years ago. The editor, M. Aegidius Fauteux, confesses his inability to identify its author. All that can be gathered from internal evidence is that he was a civilian, a determined partisan



of Governor Vaudreuil, and consequently, says M. Fauteux, a Canadian. The inventory of the correspondence of Mgr Signay is continued in the second section of the report, and the third part concludes the publication of Abbé de l'Isle Dieu's letters. In the foreword, M. P.-G. Roy alludes to the letters he received manifesting the interest aroused by the publication of these letters, owing to the importance of the abbé's correspondence for the religious history of New France. "Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, let us note here, was also interested in the ecclesiastical affairs of Louisiana. His letters on the sister-colony are not less interesting than those we published. A little later, we shall perhaps be able to publish them. . . ." Students of missionary activities and missionary expansion in the Mississippi Valley—the Louisiana of those days—during the French régime hope the delay will not be too long. The chronology of the three instalments, the first two were published in the *Rapports* of 1936 and 1937, overlaps somewhat. Letters of 1753 and 1754, are found in the first and second instalments, and letters of 1755 in the second and in the third. The gap from 1755 to 1761 is partially bridged by the Louisiana letters. The fourth part of the report contains a bibliography of monographs and histories of the parishes of Canada. The author, M. A. Roy, writes that the complete, impartial, and true history of Canada is one day to be written with the help of the histories of the parishes. He evidently refers to the great help students derive from such monographs. The compiler modestly disclaims to have made a definitive inventory of the sources to be consulted, but he hopes that his work will be of service to investigators. Of this there can be no doubt. Naturally, M. Roy had the Canadian students primarily in view, but his bibliography will prove useful to the investigator of the early exploration of the Great Lakes and of the Mississippi River. Until the end of the seventeenth century the starting points of these expeditions were Quebec and Montreal. It is important to know then when the church registers of the parishes lying on the way to what the French called the Pays d'en Haut, the Northwest, their Far West. Many a missionary ascending the St. Lawrence did ministerial work en route and signed these registers. In some of the parish histories listed, we are told that data are found taken directly from the registers. As a rule it is easier to procure such books than to go to the town where the register is found. This list is easily consulted, since it is divided according to authors, parishes, and dioceses. M. Roy must have smiled when he detected the peculiar typographical error in the title of the *Mandements* of the Bishops of Quebec, p. 284.

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*Don Diego Quijada, Alcalde Mayor de Yucatan, 1561-1565. Documentos sacados de los archivos de España y publicados por France V. Scholes y Eleanor B. Adams. Volumes 14 and 15 of Biblioteca*

*Historica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas*. Mexico, D. F., 1938. Tomo I, pp. cvii, 350; Tomo II, pp. 435, Index.

Here are two exceedingly praiseworthy volumes containing documents to the number of seventy-five on subjects interesting to students of Spanish colonial progress in the Americas. Dr. Scholes gives the setting in a clear, comprehensive, and admirable introduction, before presenting the materials with his collaborator in the difficult project, and his preliminary survey carefully calls attention to the principles and the persons involved in the occupation of Yucatan and the difficulties and controversies surrounding the Spanish control of the land of the Mayas.

The arriving Spaniards found far more densely populated areas in the tropical climes than did the French and English in the temperate. The latter dealt with the scattered tribes as independent units, exploited them, but remained apart from their culture. The Spaniards dealt with the Indians as a whole and brought about at least a partial fusion of their race with that of the indigines, and also attempted the fusion of the Indian and European civilizations. Spain had the intention of exploiting the American landfall and its inhabitants, but both the Crown and individual Spaniards were actuated by diverse motives, of which the economic and the religious were prime. Colonists demanded the right to exploit the land and Indian labor; churchmen and many officials inspired by religion and humanitarianism regularly opposed those imbued with the materialistic concept of the natives, and thus, because of the protection they offered and the laws they occasioned, were highly instrumental in fostering what became the distinct Hispano-Indian culture. Many problems had to be solved by each group trying to answer the question, what should be done with the natives? Those deeming them economic assets and liabilities had their troubles over the *encomienda* system and tributes; the religious, especially the Franciscans, had difficulty with idolatry and were confronted by serious problems: Should the pagan religion and all its customs be uprooted completely, or, were some tribal ceremonies to be tolerated as non-religious? If the Indians were established as equals of the Spaniards in the eyes of God, what political and economic equality should they have? These controversial points and their ramifications gave rise to investigations and reports, and hence Dr. Scholes decided to publish the same, not so much for the disputes contained therein, but more for the vast amount of information on the social, religious, and economic conditions.

The introduction tells the history of Yucatan briefly, the administrators, the arrival of the Franciscans, the economic and missionary developments, the Franciscan protective influence over the Indians, and influence as an administrative force, and the hostilities aroused to the time of the appointment of the first bishop, 1560, and the coming of the *Alcalde Mayor*, Don Diego Quijada. Don Diego's régime

offers a splendid example of the problems proper to the widespread Spanish colonies. While the colonizing agencies were hard pressed by problems, the religious too were at work on theirs. The religious leader was the Franciscan Provincial, Fray Diego de Landa, who in 1562 performed his famed investigation of idolatry obtaining in several centers. Dr. Scholes points to this event as one of great significance as an example of mutual action between Christian leaders and native caciques. Idols and idolatry could not have been destroyed by any one or any ten Landas had the natives refused cooperation and hidden away with their practices. Pages and many documents of the book pertain to the celebrated controversy and trials. Sore spots in the disputes between officials, Franciscans, and the new bishop are written of very objectively. Dr. Scholes clears up a number of misconceptions and points the way to many phases still susceptible of research. Quijada on his part, in the face of opposition from mercenary and less humanitarian Spaniards, did what he could to abolish oppressions. His government looms as of great importance in the settlement of the controversy over the legal status, rights, labor, and culture of the Indians.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

### **Contributors**

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